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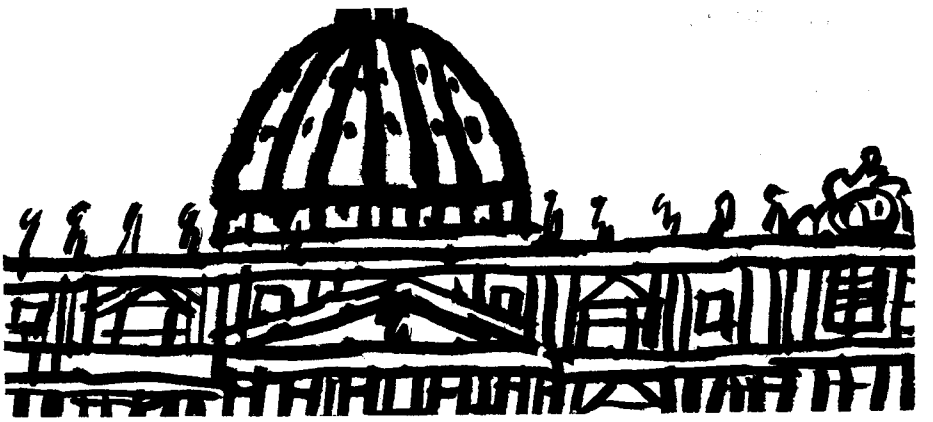

WHAT HAS THE COUNCIL DONE?

An analysis and projections

Hans Kung

SPANISH STUDENTS REBEL

Gabriel Jackson

PAUL TILLICH

Robert McAfee Brown

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NEWS AND VIEWS

After a Lou Harris poll, claiming to show a "growing disenchantment with television on the part of affluent, better-educated Americans," the television industry massively retaliated by citing another poll (Nielsen), which counter-claimed that during the first three months of 1965, American families with an annual income of over $10,000 averaged 6 hours and 21 minutes of viewing time per day. This is about 44½ hours per week, which would mean that in upper-income homes, the TV set spends more time on the job than its owner.

•

In connection with publication of the Italian edition of *Contraception and Holiness* (Herder & Herder, $5.50), the Milan weekly newspaper *L'Europeo* conducted a survey of Italian Catholic opinion on birth control. Of 3,345 replies to a questionnaire, 3,080 declared themselves emphatically in favor of contraception. Two-thirds of the respondents considered it a matter for them to decide privately, according to their own conscience. Two other questions asked were "Did you want all your children?" (30 percent said no) and "If the Church accepts birth control and by doing so, suddenly changes its traditional attitude, would you believe any less in the infallibility of the Church?" (90 percent said no).

•

Several churches and religious associations in our major cities have refused to let contracts to any employer who discriminates in hiring. (On the Catholic side, they include the Archdioceses of St. Louis, San Antonio and Hartford.) In Detroit, the first interfaith attempt along these lines has just been announced: the Metropolitan Detroit Council of Churches, the Jewish Community Council of Metropolitan Detroit, the Detroit Council of Eastern Orthodox Churches and the Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit have joined forces in a "Project Equality" program, which will cover all phases of purchasing and hiring by religious institutions in the area. The National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice is helping to set the program up.

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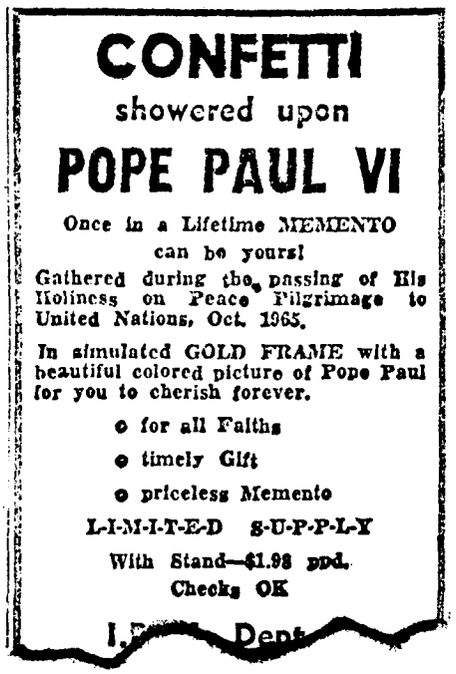
Believe-it-or-not Dep't, religion-and-commerce division: the following ad appeared in a Syracuse, N.Y., newspaper:


CONFETTI
showered upon
POPE PAUL VI
Once in a Lifetime MEMENTO
can be yours!
Gathered during the passing of His Holiness on Peace Pilgrimage to United Nations, Oct. 1965.
In simulated GOLD FRAME with a beautiful colored picture of Pope Paul for you to cherish forever.
• for all Faiths
• timely Gift
• priceless Memento
L-I-M-I-T-E-D S-U-P-P-L-Y
With Stand—$1.98 ppd.
Checks OK
Dept.

•

David Halberstam won his pulitzer prize by reporting the Vietnam war in depth, despite harassment and restrictions by the U.S. embassy and army in Vietnam. The facts he reported were so uncomfortable, and so far from the U.S. communiques of pending victory, that at least one attempt was made to expel him from Vietnam—a personal plea from President Kennedy to the publisher of the New York *Times* to pull Halberstam out. This is background for the tiny irony of the week: after Halberstam was thrown out of Poland for his reporting on the Communist regime, the State Department announced, with high-minded rigor, that it "deplored any effort to impose censorship by the restriction or expulsion of any American correspondent."

•

Father William A. Miller, CSSR, of New Orleans, has uncovered a hitherto undetected link between urban renewal and the Communist menace. In a mimeographed statement he is sending around, he says: " 'We want consistency,' cry all true, thinking Americans . . . . Why battle Communism in S. Vietnam and forfeit property rights at home: Private property rights make coexistence with Communism impossible! . . . Urban renewal is damnably unjust, for all eternity, by the infinitely just God, Supreme Judge over all courts and referendums, Who has decreed: 'You shall not steal! You shall not covet your neighbor's goods!' " (One of the goods we do not covet is Father Miller's opinion on anything at all.)

•

La Bell' Italia: After the theft of several priceless manuscripts from the Vatican Museum, an English reporter phoned in to his newspaper a dramatic account of the Italian police in action, including this sample: "A high police officer went outside a few moments ago to study footprints found near the site of the crime, but he has gone in again now, because it's raining."

•

Writing from Rome at the beginning of December, the Council correspondent of *Informations Catholiques Internationales* pointed out that Pope Paul's encyclical on the Eucharist, *Mysterium Fidei*, has not yet been published in the *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, the "only really official organ of the Church." He reported a rumor, heard from "various theologians and experts," that "when the encyclical is finally published, it could very well appear in a modified version." *Mysterium Fidei* appeared last September. In the controversy that followed, critics complained of apparent discrepancies with the Liturgical Constitution, and of an apparent rebuff to those legitimately trying to renew Eucharistic theology. JOHN LEO

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CORRESPONDENCE

"Snipes and Gripes"

Fort Wayne, Ind.

To the Editors: As a regular reader of Mr. Leo's page "News & Views," I wonder if it might not be more appropriately entitled "Snipes & Gripes." We all need the stimulation of criticism and correction but nobody survives on a steady diet of salt and pepper — not even bishops whose inner integument is highly indurated.

(MOST REV.) LEO A. PURSLEY
Bishop of Fort Wayne-South Bend

"Men of the '30s"

Runnemede, N.J.

To the Editors: Like the "quick kick" in football, Richard Kostelanetz's surprising critical "punt" at the opening of his "Men of the '30s" [December 3]—meant as a measured kick in the *derriéres* of realists — succeeded more as a slick offensive gesture than the calculated critical judgment we must presume it was meant to be.

• To say, that is, to state unequivocally that the "novelists and poets" of the forties "are superior, in both achievement and development, to the best of the thirties," is a perilous and mistaken bit of academic nonsense, especially when Mr. Kostelanetz dares to contrast Saul Bellow with Nathanael West, attempting to illustrate his foolish evaluation. To begin with, if by "superior achievement and development" Mr. Kostelanetz means productivity, then Bellow is indeed safely "superior" to West who published four short novels before his tragic death at age 37; Bellow, of course, has been more prolific in his 50 years, and I would guess the number of pages (or words) in *Augie March* alone would be the equal of West's collected works. . .

But I would hope that Mr. Kostelanetz intends a more substantial and meaningful judgment than mere productivity. I will not attempt to dismiss

(*Continued on page 483*)

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SANTO DOMINGO REVISITED

How annoying! The Dominican Republic is still there. Provisional President García Godoy and the Dominican people refuse to settle down for a long winter's nap—our winter, not theirs—but insist on clearing their nation of the left-over *trujillista* military which has either dominated or harassed every government since the dictator's assassination. As though we didn't have enough to do with South Vietnam, NATO and the new budget.

The Dominican Republic is still there. It was back in the news a week ago. It will be back again. And each time, the world will once again be reminded of American responsibility for Santo Domingo's present difficulties. Under those conditions, it seems reasonable to assume that the U.S. will follow a sensible Dominican policy, as was done a week ago, supporting García Godoy against the military. The State Department, after all, is not staffed with ninnies.

It seems reasonable. But would it have been considered reasonable in 1960 to predict that the U.S. would support, in turn, a pseudo-military junta, the democratic reformer Juan Bosch, a junta headed by former auto dealer Reid Cabral which emerged after a military coup against Bosch, the Dominican Bircher Wessin y Wessin, the CIA-picked operator Antonio Imbert, the Bosch-approved Antonio Guzmán, the ex-*trujillista* Joaquín Balaguer, and finally Bosch's former foreign minister, García Godoy? With such a record to go on, can one assume anything? Who's next?

"We had to operate by antenna and by guess," Ambassador W. Tapley Bennett explained to a reporter last August, without clarifying whether

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this was the same antenna by which Secretary Rusk gauges the merit of Hanoi peace feelers or a private one of his own. At any rate, either Mr. Bennett's antenna or his guess informed him last April that the U.S. ought to follow a policy of "non-intervention" in the Dominican affair. To Mr. Bennett, this meant that on Tuesday, April 27, when rebel leaders, apparently defeated by the military, appeared in his office and begged him to arrange some sort of face-saving cease-fire, he refused lest it be "intervention" — while on Wednesday, April 28, when the tide of battle suddenly reversed itself (and when American lives were no more in danger than on the day preceding), he non-intervened by cabling Washington repeatedly in request first of equipment and then of Marines to defeat the revolutionary forces.

When the Dominican military, whose leaders were assigned out of the country by President García, made their recent attempt at another coup, were they counting on this remarkable flexibility in American policy? If so, they were disappointed. The U.S. wisely stuck with García Godoy, although not without some trouble from the commander of the Inter-American Peace Force, a Brazilian general who naturally was somewhat "reluctant" to act against military leaders all too similar to those running his own country. Perhaps this is a happy sign that the U.S. is finally committed to the establishment of the progressive, democratic Dominican government against which American officials earlier conspired.

URBAN NEUROSIS

New York with its millions, its congestion, short tempers, is probably more afraid of itself than any outside catastrophe. The pace is ragged, synchronization between job and home, income and output, is essential, and minutes and pennies have a way of occupying a far greater place in one's life than they have any business doing. If the nervous breakdown has come to be the symptom of urban living, New York as a city has come to fear its own inner collapse with each approaching crisis. The reaction is a sort of paralysis, as with the water crisis, Negro rioting, and on New Year's Day the transit strike. Once the crisis is past, there is general relief, a self-congratulatory air about surviving it all. Things weren't as bad as expected, and the city behaved itself rather better than sociologists would have predicted. Meanwhile the next crisis slouches its way into the headlines.

This isn't the way to meet a payroll, Barry Goldwater would say. Neither is it the way to run a city, particularly if there is any truth in the city's being man writ large. We dare say the problem is not unique to New York, and in the specific case of the transit strike, there is hardly any simple solution. The city, of course, awaits the usual *deus ex machina,* if not in the guise of federal funds (see "The Transit Mess" below), then at least in the passing of the season. Things just can't go on! But as they continue to go on, without solution, simple or otherwise, there are a few facts worth noting.

In the first place, the city's businesses are reported to be losing $100 million a day due to the strike. This suggests two things: 1) that business profits enormously from a cheap mass transit system; 2) that losses to date total at least three times the yearly cost of operating the system, even with the added wage demands. Therefore a fare hike for the consumer is neither the most obvious nor the most just solution.

This is recognized in the Mass Transit Act passed during the last session of Congress. The benefits to the national economy derived from inexpensive mass transportation have made federal involvement inevitable. At the moment there is little sympathy in Washington for New York as it holds to the 15¢ fare while other cities have raised theirs to 25¢ and even 30¢. But this sort of contradiction is normal in Washington and isn't really important. The fact remains that urban mass transit is a national concern; subsidies will be forthcoming, if not this time, then the next, probably for some other city.

The "Great Society" no doubt is also forthcoming, and perhaps the next move will be for the President to finally fill the new Cabinet post of Secretary of Urban Affairs. The Mass Transit Act, to be administered by that department, is temporarily thrown into the unlikely lap of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, headed by Robert Weaver. The Act as it now stands is limited to subsidizing capital improvements. The appointment of a Secretary of Urban Affairs might help move Congress to enlarge the scope of the Act. Maybe a nervous breakdown by New York might help, too.

NEW YORK ON FOOT

The Transit Mess

"We have inherited a decade of unanswered questions in transit operations," New York's Mayor John Lindsay said one day in a moment of unaccustomed exasperation. The city's new Mayor (his administration is twelve hours older than the transit strike, which began New Year's Day and stopped—"paralyzed," as the

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papers say—the city's subways and buses) did not expand on this observation, but he didn't really have to, for it accurately summed up the patchwork of contrived maneuverings that have permitted the New York City Transit Authority to operate the subways and buses on the fiction that it is a self-sustaining entity that can pay its bills. The fiction, for different reasons, was expedient for the three previous administrations of Robert Wagner, the Transit Authority and even the Transit Workers Union, run by Irishman Michael Quill, who likes to recall James Larkin and the general strike of 1917.

Now, everyone knows better. The Transit Authority simply didn't have enough money to reach a fair settlement with the Transport Workers Union, whose workers actually are underpaid by New York standards, and the strike—now in its second week—would be prolonged until the Authority and its rich uncle, the City of New York, can find enough money to put together an acceptable package. Enough money is probably about $45 million or $55 million.

When it became evident that the invoking of the New York State Condon-Wadlin Law forbidding strikes by municipal and state employees would not end the strike (Mr. Quill said he would rot in jail before calling his 36,000 men back), the city began casting about for money. Federal legislation to keep New York's mass-transit systems and those in other cities operating (at a reasonable fare) does not exist; last week, however, Sen. Harrison D. Williams (Dem., N. J.) proposed legislation that would pay two-thirds of the operating deficits of *all* mass-transit systems, including commuter lines.

The cupboard at City Hall also appeared to be embarrassingly bare. Mr. Lindsay's predecessor, ingenious and thorough, had apparently exhausted all possible sources of subsidy. Mr. Wagner did not want to be remembered as the Mayor who forced New Yorkers to pay 25 cents for a subway ride that had cost them only 15 cents. Until two years ago, the Transit Authority, as a quasi-independent state-created agency, was required by law to pay all its operating expenses from fare revenues, an incredible presumption. Nevertheless Mr. Wagner found ways to provide the aid and hold off the politically inexpedient higher fare. The city assumed the cost of the TA police force, on the theory that they protected city-owned property; it pre-paid anticipated power costs. With these indirect subsidies, the fare was preserved and the TWU mollified. Then Mr. Quill, who in the past has always accommodated himself with the TA in will-he-or-won't-he-strike agreements on New Year's Eve, suddenly decided that it was time his men got more money—just as sanitation men, whom Mr. Quill refers to as "garbage men."

The only alternative appeared to be the state. Already it is subsidizing the bankrupt New Haven Railroad, and even has purchased the similarly ailing Long Island Railroad, but Gov. Rockefeller has maintained that New York's transit crisis is a local problem. When Mayor Lindsay was asked of the many rumors rampant that Rockefeller was gathering together $10 million, he replied, "It is news to me."

Even in Massachusetts, where state government does not seem to have progressed beyond the Neanderthal stage, mass transit is no longer considered a strictly local problem. Last year the Massachusetts Legislature created the Massachusetts Bay Transit Authority, the ruling mass-transportation agency for Boston and 77 other cities and towns in the state. The MBTA has done what no other transit agency has: it has resigned itself to annual deficits and refused to resort to subterfuge to disguise them. If deficits increase, it has the power to increase the levies on the cities and towns that support the transit complex.

The New York City Transit Authority, however, deals with the TWU, which calls for more money than it or the city can provide. These seemed to be among its alternatives: (1) Raise the fare. (Each additional cent would provide $12 million, according to the TA.) (2) Request legislation consolidating the agency with the Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority and other area automobile transportation bodies. (The Triborough, run by Robert Moses, who strenuously opposed any diluting of his commissar-like powers, reportedly has annual surpluses of $18 million to $20 million.) (3) Request legislation permitting state aid.

Regardless of the strike, the time was approaching when the Transit Authority would have to resort to one or a combination of these alternatives if it—and the city—were to begin answering the unanswered questions that Mayor Lindsay complained about so bitterly. And there will be other questions to answer, such as how to equitably resolve labor disputes involving municipal service employees. The transit strike, an inconvenience to most, was a disaster to some, especially the city's poor. There was also the Welfare Workers' strike last year which hit primarily the poor. It is missing the point entirely to see these effects as solely the responsibility of the unions. A means—possibly some sort of compulsory arbitration—will have to be worked out. Until then, the responsibility for the city lies with the city as a whole.

Other American cities face similar problems, and will have to begin answering their own unanswered questions. The strike, if nothing else, has taught that lesson.

THOMAS GRUBISICH

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COMEBACK OF THE YEAR

Fr. DePauw Returns

Father Gommar DePauw is one of the many men amongst us who got his job through the New York *Times*. He arrived at the *Times* one day last March as the head of the Catholic Traditionalist Movement, which at the time consisted of one press release and one woman from New Rochelle, New York. The *Times* thought it had a big story and gave it lavish treatment on page one. As a result, Father DePauw drew immediate attention from every major TV and press outlet, and by the end of the week, there actually *was* a Catholic Traditionalist Movement. Today, according to Father DePauw, it consists of "four or five thousand field workers" and "millions of supporters," not to mention chapters in half a dozen American cities and four Latin American countries, all dedicated to fight to the death against liturgical and theological innovations which are "Protestantizing the Church."

The news of the past week concerns Father DePauw's successful end-run around his own bishop, Cardinal Shehan of Baltimore, by taking his case to Rome and winning permission to resume his activities as head of the movement. Cardinal Shehan had ordered him to desist and, for his pains, was compared to Hitler in one of the Traditionalist press releases. Through the good offices of Cardinal Ottaviani, Father DePauw has been incardinated as a priest of the Italian diocese of Tivoli. He is now back in New York, apparently permanently, to direct the Traditionalists, regardless of the wishes of Cardinal Shehan or any other American bishop.

All of this makes Father DePauw a candidate of sorts for enshrinement in the liberal Catholic pantheon: the very week that he made *Ave Maria*'s list of "silenced" priests, he became the first one within living memory to take his case to Rome and win it. Personally, Father DePauw is not disposed to use the term "liberal Catholic" unless it is immediately preceded by the disinfecting adjective "so-called." But in his more expansive moments he suggested himself as a model for silenced priests like Father Berrigan. "I fought back and I won," he said. "Other priests can do it too."

It helps of course to have Cardinal Ottaviani as a protector, as he has been since last spring. Father DePauw, however, claims he won because his teaching cannot be shown to deviate from orthodox doctrine or the decrees of the Council—all he wants, he says, is the new liturgy to be applied by local option that would allow at least one all-Latin Mass a day in each parish. But in the first flush of publicity he made a number of charges that have come home to haunt him. He depicted the American bishops as dupes, from whom the liturgical changes were "subtly extorted" by unnamed conspirators. He strongly implied that new theologians were leading the Church gradually and intentionally into heresy. He urged all priests to use the old translation in the Easter liturgy: "He is risen," instead of the new one, "He has been raised,"—a more accurate rendering, but one which Father DePauw regards as part of a shadowy plot to undermine the divinity of Christ.

Cardinal Shehan had been having his troubles with Father DePauw for some time, centering apparently on the priest's resistance to the renewal in his role as professor at Mt. St. Mary's Seminary near Baltimore. When the storm over the Traditionalists broke, and Father DePauw ignored the Cardinal's hints to cut it out, the Cardinal ordered him to dissociate himself from the movement. Father DePauw obeyed, after a fashion, by temporarily putting the movement into the hands of his brother, a New York Franciscan, pending an appeal to the Vatican.

As far as the seminary goes, the Cardinal's hands were tied. Unlike most seminaries, Mt. St. Mary's is not owned by the archdiocese, but by a separate corporation, of which Father DePauw was an official. The ordinary manner of silencing a priest—by giving him full-time duties in some obscure mountain village—was therefore not open to the Cardinal. In the ensuing war of nerves, Father DePauw's name was dropped from the seminary roster, and he was ordered to begin duty as an assistant in a suburban parish starting in September—a job he presumably would pursue while still at the seminary. In the jockeying that followed, Father DePauw won permission to travel for a year. He headed for Rome to pursue his appeal, and became well enough known in curial circles that he won an audience with the Pope merely by applying for it in writing, and not through anyone's direct intervention. He says that Cardinal Ottaviani, "speaking not as a conservative, but as the arbiter of orthodoxy," examined all the Traditionalist teachings and gave them a clean bill of health. The Pope, he says, while not saying much during his audience, gave his blessing to the priest and the movement. Cardinal Ottaviani went to the Bishop of Tivoli and dropped Cardinal Spellman's name as a DePauw supporter—without any foundation in fact, Cardinal Spellman says—and gained the incardination in the Italian diocese that frees Father DePauw to work without interference in America. (The Baltimore Archdiocese,

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he says, is taking the position that the new incardination removes him from Mt. St. Mary's Seminary, but he wants to stay, and has filed a complaint with the AAUP saying that as a tenured professor he has been fired without cause or due process.)

Father DePauw presented to Cardinal Ottaviani and the Pope a poll of 40,000 American Catholics purporting to show that 80 or 90 percent oppose liturgical and other changes in the Church. He neglected to say that only the 2,000 signed responses were tabulated, or to say how representative the sample had been. When questioned about it, Father DePauw said something about the inclusion of subscribers to COMMONWEAL, the *National Catholic Reporter* and the *Wanderer*. (COMMONWEAL did not supply its list, but Father DePauw said "there are other ways" of reaching COMMONWEAL subscribers, although no one here knows of any.) A field worker in the poll, Renato Verani of Detroit, said the questionnaire went to members of the Holy Name Society, the Knights of Columbus, the Dads' Clubs, and to friends of Traditionalist members.

Father DePauw now claims the support of "close to fifty" American bishops. In July, he observed that while he is not free to reveal their names, "they just might provoke me into doing it." All along, he has claimed that 80 percent of American Catholics are with him and that in accordance with Paragraph 37 of the Council's Constitution on the Church, they have the "right and duty" to make their feelings known. ("*Vox populi, vox dei*" applies in this case, he says.) Now that he has a free hand in this country, his speeches, which proceed from a conspiratorial view of history, can be expected to stir the fears of a good many anxious Catholics. His assaults on the new liturgy will be part of the price we will have to pay for the restrictions on discussion of liturgical development in the years before the Council. This development has come as a shock to millions of Catholics, and many are ripe for a Father DePauw.

His plea for one Mass a day in the old liturgy, taken in itself, should not be dismissed out of hand. The problem in many areas is that pastors have made no real attempt to explain the changes; but if they do, and real sentiment exists for one daily Mass in the old style, there is no reason why it couldn't or shouldn't be done. The Liturgical Constitution leaves plenty of room for options, and Father DePauw's comment that liberals only support freedom for the things they already favor ought to be taken to heart. JOHN LEO

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FROM BRITAIN

1966 AND ALL THAT

Leeds

We are past the winter solstice and entering the New Year. The signs are moderately propitious. The Christmas truce in Vietnam has guttered out; but at the time of writing no bombs are falling on North Vietnam, Mr. Harriman is in Warsaw, Mr. Shelepin is expected in Hanoi, and the Chinese Government rages over what it alleges to be a conspiracy by the Soviet and United States governments to extinguish the flames of the Vietnamese revolution.

In Rhodesia the Smith regime has begun to ration gasoline and the sales of bicycles are mounting. At home Westminster Abbey has begun to celebrate the nine hundred years that have passed since St. Edward the Confessor founded the Benedictine monastery whose church at Westminster has stood at the center of royal and parliamentary history ever since, a place of coronation and debate and a shrine where the bones or ashes of the illustrious dead, believers and unbelievers alike, are interred. The opening ceremony on 28 December was a highly ecumenical affair, with Monsignor Tomlinson representing the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster and the Apostolic Delegate, Monsignor Cardinale (a cultivated and liberal person for whose presence in England we cannot be too grateful), walking in the procession of dignitaries. Later there is to be a gathering of Benedictines from several countries at Westminster. Queen Victoria would not have been amused. Even John Henry Newman would have been a little puzzled. So far have we come since the first session of Vatican II.

It is pleasant to think for a moment that these signs of victory of reason and charity in international and ecclesiastical affairs truly stand for what they seem to signify. But within us the spirit of skepticism is lively. The middle-aged among us have seen and endured too much to be quickly responsive to such signs. As for the young, or rather those among them who trouble their heads about matters of this kind, they are quite of the opinion that things are never what they seem to be and that the great men of the world are clowns or villains. We feel the need to face the worst possibilities before

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we can give half an eye to more pleasing prospects. Here, for example, is *The Guardian* of 30 December, in a leading article entitled "Olive branches in a cold wind":

> Fighting in Vietnam, against successive foreigners, has now been going on for a quarter of a century. Will there be peace in 1966—or a bigger war? . . . Unhappily, however, there is little evidence that [any of the parties to the dispute] has abandoned enough of its preconceptions to make a compromise likely. . . . It would be rash to assume that the prospects for peace are better than they were twelve months ago. In fact they may be worse. Until the last lunar new year, peacemakers . . . could concentrate on getting the United States "off the hook." But since then President Johnson has committed his country's reputation utterly; being unhooked would now mean being defeated, and that, to most Americans, is as unthinkable as it ever was. The trouble is . . . that the Americans are still failing to produce any sign that they can win. During the past year President Johnson has engaged American troops in ground fighting, he has increased their number nearly tenfold, he has bombed North Vietnam and the routes through Laos to prevent the passage of reinforcements to the South, he has used a formidable armory of weapons from B-52 bombers downwards. The result of all this is that the enemy is stronger than ever before . . . that hardly a square mile of territory has been permanently "pacified," that fighting continues to the outskirts of Saigon. As for the fostering of democracy, United States mentors, understandably, have long since given up the attempt, and Air Vice-Marshal Ky rules frankly by terror. Determined not to lose, the United States leaders can only meet each successive failure by expanding the war to a new level at which they think they will get on better. They have done so several times this year; the prospects are that they will do so again now.

By the time these words are read it may be known how far *The Guardian* is right in its diagnosis and its anticipations. I have thought it worthwhile to quote its views at some length to bring out for American readers the temper of what is, after all, a fairly moderate section of British opinion. It is rumored that something like this position, though it would no doubt have been phrased more sweetly, was urged upon President Johnson by our Prime Minister when they met recently in Washington. If this is really true, either the Government is divided or Mr. Michael Stewart ("the best Tory Foreign Secretary since Eden—or the worst since Selwyn Lloyd," is how the wags phrase it) is putting on a wonderful act.

One of the consoling things about the present international scene, and this will be true however things turn out, is the clarification of the role of the Church. Now, through its chief bishop, the Church is showing by its action in the Vietnam crisis that it transcends the politics of the Cold War. It is not so long since it seemed plausible to characterize Catholicism as firmly committed to the world struggle against Communism. Life has in any case complicated the simple diagnosis of world politics that were current in the Dulles years; but these simplicities continued to enchant many Catholics—perhaps continue to enchant—and it is good that they should be reminded by Pope Paul VI, and through actions as well as words, that the Church is not embattled for the defense of political regimes (however admirable) or for the destruction of other regimes (however deplorable), but is close to the Lord of the Church only in striving to reconcile the divided human family.

As to other, lesser concerns that agitate the minds and fill the newspapers of the English, it is hard to select from so rich a variety. Skirts are very short, and even the most emancipated among the young are jerking like puppets at the bidding of the masters of high fashion. A great deal of noise is being made by a society, headed by a formidable lady member of Moral Rearmament, formed to rid the excellent British Broadcasting Corporation of what are called "doubt" and "dirt," two commodities that are alleged to be present in television programs. Commercial television is of course clean, very clean. Doubt and dirt are there quite crowded out by the trivial and the inane. We have just finished the preliminary proceedings, reported at enormous length, of what may turn out to be the nastiest murder case of the century. The state of religious knowledge is well represented by the person who is alleged to have remarked, faced with a Nativity scene: "What are Adam and Eve doing with that baby?" Finally, we note that the leader of the Komsomol, Mr. Sergei Pavlov, has noted with displeasure that in the Soviet Union the young are disrespectful to their elders and favor the works of decadent poets. Perhaps they have been watching the television programs of the BBC and have absorbed doubt and dirt into their socialist systems. "Clean up the BBC!" has, as a slogan, international possibilities. Behind it Mr. Pavlov, the lady from Moral Rearmament, whoever it is (the name always escapes me) that rules Thailand at the moment, and the Daughters of the American Revolution (hey, watch that word "revolution"), could form a charmed circle.

A happy New Year to all readers of COMMONWEAL.

J. M. CAMERON

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WHAT HAS THE COUNCIL DONE?

An analysis and projections

HANS KUNG

Is it too soon to write about the results of the second Vatican Council? To write about the history of a period in which one lives is always problematical, especially when one is personally involved. Aren't we still too close to the Council, and won't we find ourselves in this position for some time to come? The real historical significance of Vatican II will not be known for several decades. Who would have thought at the time that the rather unpretentious Council of Trent would have given its name to a period of four hundred years—a period which so many now feel is over?

An attempt can be made to give no more than a *preliminary estimate*. Different observers will give widely varying evaluations of the results. To facilitate the discussion, a résumé will be attempted, a résumé which, although it proceeds from the Catholic point of view—in fact from the point of view of one engaged in the work of the Council—will nevertheless strive to take into account non-Catholic Christianity as well as the secular world.

Our question is this: what has the Council *achieved*? Despite all justifiable criticism, no one will regard it as an attempt to paint an over-optimistic picture if the positive achievements of the Council are underlined now that it is over. It would be an oversimplification to say that a genuine pessimism prevailed during the preparation of the conciliar decrees and a genuine optimism at the time of their promulgation. But there is some truth in the statement. That which the Council did not accomplish need not and cannot be overlooked. There are certain decrees (e.g. the decree on the communications media, the Declaration on Christian Education) which are hardly significant for the future. There are others which lack proportion, which are in many places ambiguous or which simply are not forward-looking. There is probably not a single decree which proved completely satisfactory to the bishops.

In practically all of the doctrinal decrees, a solid exegetical, and often enough, historical foundation is wanting—a price exacted by the almost total absence of Catholic exegesis at the Council. Often enough, diplomatic compromises made a patchwork of precisely the most critical matters—for example scripture and tradition, papal primacy and collegiality. These were compromises between a majority, which generally had the most serious and vital theology on their side and the relatively small curial party which controlled the Council machinery and made thorough use of this control right to the end. None of this should be glossed over. The episcopacy and the Church will have to keep a close watch to make sure that many of the achievements are not subsequently lost in red tape. And the theology of the post-conciliar period will be kept busy with the work of interpretation, explanation and constant revision in thoroughly honest and critical theological objectivity.

In spite of this, it is important not to look upon the undeniable obscurities, compromises, omissions, exag-

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gerations and mistakes hypercritically but to regard them with hope, as tasks for the future, in the spirit of the Council, which did not want to close any doors. There is a sense in which the Council, that is, the realization of the Council, *began* on December 8, 1965, and in preparation for this future, rather than finding fault with the Council for what it failed to accomplish, it is better to search for the immanent possibilities in what it did accomplish.

The question is, therefore: what doors have been opened? Where has the light broken through? How is it possible to separate that which the Church has picked up in the course of her two-thousand-year history? We can distinguish five general areas: What has the Council achieved in reference to: 1. other Christians in general; 2. Protestants and Orthodox in particular; 3. the non-Christian religions; 4. the modern world; 5. the inner reform of the Catholic Church itself. The answers to these questions will reveal the tasks of the immediate future.

Ecumenism

I. THE ECUMENICAL AGE:

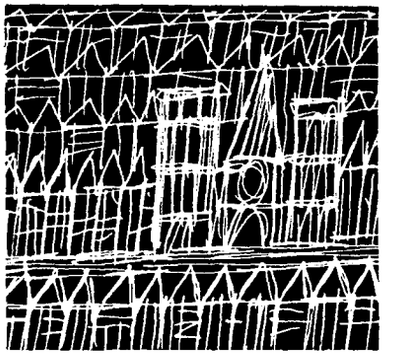
What has the Council accomplished in regard to other Christians? Decisive accomplishments were made, particularly in the decree on Ecumenism.

1. That Catholics share the blame for the disunity of the Church was formally recognized and the Council as well as the Pope have asked other Christians for forgiveness. At the same time the necessity of continuing reform was recognized: *Ecclesia semper reformanda*—the renewal of the Church in life and doctrine according to the Gospel.

2. The other Christian communities are recognized as *churches*: until now only individuals were recognized, and then as "heretics" or "schismatics"—now the communities themselves are recognized, and not merely as communities but expressly as *ecclesiastical* communities or as *churches*. There is a common Christian foundation in all the churches which is perhaps more important than that which divides them.

3. An *ecumenical attitude* is expected of the whole Church. The genuine conversion of Catholics themselves and prayer in an ecumenical spirit; then the mutual effort to understand one another and sympathetic dialogue, the recognition of what is good in others and learning from them, the recognition of the faith, love and baptism of other Christians; finally, theological and historical research carried on in the ecumenical spirit.

4. Cooperation with other Christians is to be encouraged in every way. Practical cooperation is possible in the entire social domain. Even more, common prayer is desirable (John XXIII was the first pope to pray with other Christians) as well as a growing liturgical fellowship, especially in the Liturgy of the Word (think for example of the impressive service of the Word conducted by Paul VI and the non-Catholic observers before the end of the Council!); and finally, theological discussions on a level of equality. Many discussions are already in progress. The participation of non-Catholic observers at the Council is taken as much for granted today as the participation of Catholic observers in the various committees of the World Council of Churches.



In order to evaluate these basic and tangible results which are briefly listed here, one could ask the question: what would have happened in the last 400 years of church history if the Council of Trent had made these epoch-making decisions, as it well might have? But the present is more important: the ecumenical age has finally and irrevocably begun for the Catholic Church with Vatican II.

In this connection, the Decree on the Eastern Churches (which had often been regarded as little more than an appendage of the Latin church) is also of importance for further ecumenical development in regard to the Protestants. The Eastern churches enjoy the same rights as those of the West; they have both the right and duty to cultivate their own independent liturgies and canonical usages (Patriarchs named by the bishops), their own spirituality and theology. Diversity strengthens rather than harms the unity of the Church.

In regard to the Orthodox churches (those not in communion with Rome), these are the present dispositions: the rebaptism of Orthodox converts is not required nor is the re-ordination of Orthodox priests; Orthodox Christians can, if they wish, receive the sacraments in Catholic churches and conversely, Catholics in Orthodox churches if no Catholic priest is available. Mixed marriages between Catholics and Orthodox are valid even if they have not taken place in Catholic churches. It is permitted to use one church for both Catholic and Orthodox services. Is there any clearer in-

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dication of the beginning of a new Christian age than the solemn and simultaneous removal of the ban of excommunication in Rome and Constantinople shortly before the end of the council, the ban which marked the beginning of the almost 1000-year schism? This courageous act is indicative of the sincere desire for reconciliation on the part of Paul VI. What began with the kiss of peace between Paul VI and the Patriarch of Constantinople in Jerusalem in 1964 has been advanced here in a form, the positive consequences of which for the whole of Christianity can scarcely be estimated.

Reformations

II. THE CONCERNS OF THE REFORMERS:

What in particular has the Council achieved in regard to Protestant Christians? Here, too, the Council can point to results of an epoch-making character. A number of the central concerns of the reformers have been taken up. For example:

1. *Greater esteem for Holy Scripture:* a) In *Liturgy*: The liturgy is to bear the biblical stamp. The singing of psalms in the vernacular is encouraged, as well as preaching according to scriptural norms (every Sunday sermon is to be above all an explanation of the scriptural text). A new cycle of scriptural readings with greater variety and spread over a number of years is already in preparation. b) In the whole *life* of the Church: Instead of emphasizing the Vulgate, the Latin translation of the Bible, as the Council of Trent did, now modern translations from the original text are encouraged, translations which can be used together with non-Catholics. (In the English-speaking world during this past year, Catholics adopted a modern Protestant version: similar plans are afoot in Germany.) Instead of forbidding Bible reading by the laity as was previously the case (right up into the nineteenth century), both clergy and laity are repeatedly encouraged to read the Bible; the significance of the Bible for both religious instruction and piety is emphasized.

c) In *theology*: The Magisterium has no priority over the Word of God but is rather the servant of the Word. It is *not* common Church teaching that the truths of revelation are contained *partly* in Scripture and partly in Tradition. Biblical studies are encouraged and are to be the soul of theology. In the face of all of the conservative attacks (the controversy over the Pontifical Biblical Institute) the historical-critical method (literary genres, *Formgeschichte*) has received explicit approval. Scriptural inerrancy is claimed only for religious truth and not for statements of a scientific or historical nature.

2. *A genuine liturgy of the Word:* here many concerns of the reformers can be seen to be fulfilled: a) instead of the earlier clerical liturgy, a liturgy in which the laity exercise their common priesthood, a sense of community emphasized by the more intelligent arrangement of the service, active participation of the entire congregation in prayer and song, and in sharing the Body of the Lord; private masses deemphasized (concelebration now possible), celebration in common preferable in principle. b) instead of the former practice of reading Scripture in the Latin language which no one understood, listening to the Word of God proclaimed in an intelligible language. (cf. 1a); c) instead of the former thoroughly Romanized liturgy, *adaptation to different national cultures:* recognition of the competence of national episcopal conferences in liturgical matters in place of the former exclusive competence of the Holy See. d) in place of the former confusion and obscurity, *simplification and concentration on the essential.* Revision of all the rites with the result that the Mass will resemble the Last Supper more closely.

e) likewise, reform of the liturgy of the *sacraments* (particularly of Baptism), reform of the Church year (reducing the number of feasts of the saints); reform of the *breviary*, by shortening it and introducing the vernacular; f) the positive resolution of many controversial points, often argued about as though they were matters of faith: vernacular worship and the granting of the chalice to the laity, a practice which is likewise permitted in principle.

3. *Greater esteem for the laity:* the direct access of the laity to Holy Scripture and the realization of a liturgy in which the laity participate actively, are in themselves a fulfillment of this third concern of the reformers. In addition there are the numerous theological references to the meaning of the laity in the Church which run through all the documents of the Council, and the implicit criticism of clericalism contained in them. The Constitution on the Church is of more importance in this connection than the decree on the lay apostolate; the Church is essentially the people of God. The laity constitute the universal priesthood of the faithful, all of whom participate in the royal, priestly and prophetic office of Christ. Spiritual charisms and the vocation to holiness are not only granted to isolated individuals, but to all in the Church. On the practical level, each bishop is to form a pastoral council, made up of priests engaged in pastoral work and of laity. In the decree on the priesthood, greater respect for the laity in parish life is strongly commended, in sharing the work of the parish with them, giving them freedom of action and free play for their initiative.

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4. *Adapting the Church to the nations:* As against an over-centralized system, the importance of the Church on the local, diocesan and national level is emphasized again and again. The practical work of decentralization is to be the goal of national or regional *bishops' conferences* which are to be juridically constituted where they do not yet exist, and are to meet regularly. The liturgy offers the first example of adaptation, but it is also to make itself felt in other areas, such as seminaries, the missions, etc. The decision of the French Bishops' Conference to permit the revival of the priest-worker movement is a good example of the way in which the bishops of a given country can exercise their competence. The Roman Curia itself is to be internationalized.

5. *The reform of popular piety:* The answers given by the bishops' conferences to the *question of indulgences* show that the medieval theory and practice in regard to indulgences, which played an important role in triggering the Lutheran reformation, is now passé. The reform of the laws of fast and abstinence, laws which frequently obscured specifically Christian values, is in progress. Finally, the dangers of an exaggerated mariology which can be reconciled neither with scripture nor with the absolute centrality of Christ, have been recognized, particularly through the refusal of Vatican II to accept a separate Marian schema and the incorporation of this material into the schema on the Church. Despite the desires of many, no further Marian dogmas were defined.

When we look at this whole area, it is clear that much of what the Council did is of a preliminary, imperfect, even questionable character, and that a number of important things are missing. But it is nevertheless permissible to ask this question: what would Martin Luther do if he were born in the Catholic Church of today? Some people would answer this question with a smirk and tell us that he would have been a Council *peritus,* and there is this much truth in that answer: many of his justified demands have in great measure been complied with by this Council. And another question must be added: wouldn't it be the task of the Protestant churches, on their part, to approach us in a more self-critical spirit, and—in the spirit of *ecclesia semper reformanda*—with reformation of the reformation?

Christians and Jews

III. THE TRUTH CONTAINED IN THE NON-CHRISTIAN RELIGIONS:

What has the Council achieved in regard to the other world religions and particularly in regard to Judaism? Christians (and not only Catholics) have more to make up for in regard to the Jews than in regard to any other group. The monstrous crimes of Nazi anti-Semitism would have been impossible without the hidden and, often enough, open "Christian" anti-Semitism of more than 1500 years, an anti-Semitism which was manifest even in the Council debates.

The Council, here again following the personal initiative of John XXIII, is attempting to place the relationship of the Catholic Church to Judaism on a new and positive basis. The Church proclaims her indissoluble unity with Israel; she also appeals to Israel's patriarchs and Holy Scriptures. Jesus and the early Church have their origins in Israel. Even though the majority of the Jews rejected Jesus as Messiah, they are in no sense accursed, but remain the chosen people. The responsibility for Jesus' death cannot be laid upon all of the Jews of His own day, still less on those of our own day. Sermons and religious instruction, study and discussion should aid mutual understanding and esteem. The Church condemns all manifestations of anti-Semitism, hate and persecution. She rejects all discrimination based upon race, color, class or religion.

The few phrases which were not included in the text are not decisive for the future. The Catholic Church has spoken out without ambiguity against all anti-Semitism and for cooperation with the Jews, thereby introducing a new period of Judaeo-Christian relations after 2000 years of Church history. To appreciate the change which has taken place, one need only compare the declaration of Vatican II with the anti-Semitic measures of the best of the medieval councils, the Fourth Council of the Lateran, just 750 years ago.

Vatican II is also trying to improve the relationship of the Church to the other world religions, a relationship which was often quite strained in missionary lands. This same declaration on the non-Christian religions affirms that all the peoples of the earth with their various religions form one community; these religions attempt to answer the same vital questions in different ways. Although the Church sees the fullness of truth in Christ and His message, she does not on that account reject anything true and holy in the other religions—rays of the one truth which enlightens all men. In discussion and cooperation, Christians should recognize and promote the spiritual, moral and cultural values of the other religions. The Church looks with great respect on Hinduism and Buddhism and especially on Islam, which together with her also worships the one God and honors Jesus as a prophet. The age-old enmity between Christianity and Islam must give way to understanding and to common efforts to achieve social justice, peace and freedom.

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The declaration closes with a profession of belief in the brotherhood of all men under one father. It is a remarkable fact and one of significance for the relationship of the Church to the modern world, that the oft-rejected slogan of the French Revolution plays a special role in the conciliar documents: *liberté, égalité, fraternité*.

Church and World

IV. THE SECULAR WORLD:

Unlike Vatican I, Vatican II recognizes that the world has come of age. Vatican II has definitely broken with the medieval world view which prevailed in the Church into the 19th and 20th centuries.

1. The relationship of the Church to the world is handled principally in the Constitution on the Church in the modern world. The attitude of the Church toward human progress is fundamentally positive, although naturally enough, not uncritical. The Church desires a profound solidarity and cooperation with the rest of mankind. Reading the signs of the times and interpreting them in the light of the Gospel, she desires dialogue in place of polemic, authentic witness in place of triumphalism, answering all questions. Based on the Gospel itself, she takes her stand for dignity, freedom and the rights of man, for the development and improvement of human society and its institutions and for sound human creativity.

2. The same Constitution concretizes the positive attitude of the Church particularly in the following points: a) In the sympathetic and self-critical position taken toward the various forms of atheism (Communism is not mentioned by name in order to avoid political misunderstanding); b) In the emphasis on mutual love and human responsibility in married life (despite the unfortunate modifications forced on the Council at the last minute which by no means exclude an urgently necessary papal decision in favor of birth control); c) In affirming responsible freedom for cultural creativity, and the autonomy to which science and serious theological research are entitled; d) In taking the part of the weak, whether nations or individuals, in economic, social and political life; e) In the sharp rejection of war and particularly of atomic war (only a small and non-representative group within the North American hierarchy expressed opposition to the passage concerning the danger of possessing atomic weapons) and in cooperation in the building of an international community of nations (the impressive conciliatory gestures of the Polish and German hierarchies at the end of the Council provide a splendid example).

3. Finally, the declaration on religious freedom belongs to the great forward-looking documents of the Council, despite the unfortunate changes in the text which only appear in the last edition. It affirms:

a) *Every man* has the right to freedom of religion: The unhindered exercise of religious freedom by individuals and communities, in public and in private, according to the norms of conscience is founded upon the dignity of the human person. b) *Every religious community* has the right to unhindered public exercise of their religion according to their laws; they are to be

free in respect to their worship, the choice, training and designation of their pastors, communication with their church authorities and with communities of the same confession throughout the world, the building of churches and the possession of material goods, public witness to their faith through the communications media (provided they use acceptable means), and contributing to the structure of their society.

c) Society, the state and the church, are to protect and further religious freedom. Wherever a certain religious community is granted a particular legal position on the basis of its historical development, the right of all citizens and religious communities to religious freedom must be recognized and protected. The fact that the free exercise of religion is limited by the rights of others and by the common good may not be used as a pretext for the state to proceed against one particular religious community in an arbitrary or partisan manner. Fundamental to human society is the principle: as much freedom as possible, only as much limitation of that freedom as is necessary. If the Church's engagement for religious freedom is a new phenomenon, nevertheless it is a following of the Gospel of Christ.

It can certainly be assumed that precisely this last declaration will have some effect on the situation of Protestants in Catholic countries (and perhaps even on the removal of anti-Catholic constitutional articles in countries such as Switzerland). In any case, all we need do is to compare these documents of Vatican II with the condemnations contained in the *Syllabus of Errors*

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before Vatican I, to see how much has changed in the attitude of the Church toward the achievements of the modern world. To speak of this profound change as "organic development," as Catholic theologians often do, to pretend that what was implicit became explicit, is sheer apologetic construction. Why can't a Church, which according to the common judgment of Catholics *can* err, also show that it is capable of truly Christian conversion and of changing its views? Such a Church is far more convincing to the present world than one whose motto is the ecclesiastical equivalent of "the party is (and was) always right."

Institutional Reform

V. THE REFORM OF THE CHURCH:

What has the Catholic Church done to reform herself? Everything said before could be repeated here: what the Council did in regard to other Christians (particularly in the realization of the concerns of the Orthodox and the Reformers) and in regard to the secular world and the other religions, is the result of an inner change and renewal which has taken hold of the Church herself. The liturgical, biblical, ecumenical and pastoral renewal which has fulfilled, at least partially, demands for reform that have been raised in the Church for decades or centuries, will not be recounted again here. But certain new aspects in the Church's theological understanding of herself and in the structure of the Church should be brought together.

1. *The Church's new understanding of herself:* The clerical, juridical and triumphal understanding of herself which characterized the Church during the middle ages and the Counter-Reformation, is decidedly in the process of change in the Constitution on the Church. Here the Church is no longer understood simply as a supernatural authoritarian society, with the pope at the top as an absolute monarch, then the episcopal and priestly aristocracy, and finally, in the role of passive subjects, the faithful. The Constitution no longer begins with the hierarchy. The Church is seen from within, as a mystery, not to be confused with political organisms, and described in the various biblical images. The most fundamental of these is the understanding of the Church as the people of God, a people on pilgrimage, both in the sense of being sinners and of possessing their definitive goal only in the future, a people ever ready for new reform. The whole Church exists in the local churches. Those who hold office do not stand above but in the midst of the people of God; they are no more or less than the *servants* of the people, who, as a whole, share in the priestly character and the gifts of the Holy Spirit.

2. *The Pope and the Bishops:* The Pope is not an absolute monarch. Without prejudice to his primacy, it is stated in the Constitution on the Church that the bishops together with the Pope have a common, *collegial* responsibility for the Church. This is the case not only when they are gathered for an ecumenical council, but always. In the future, this collegiality will manifest itself in and function through the Bishops' Synod, which was inaugurated by the Pope at the beginning of the fourth session, following the wishes of the Council, and will meet for the first time in 1967. Unlike the college of cardinals, its composition will be proportional and it will be made up principally of the elected representatives of the *bishops' conferences.*

These bishops' conferences constitute an essential element of decentralization. They are to meet regularly and under certain circumstances; they can make decisions binding on all bishops. They are to redraw *diocesan* lines, so that the dioceses will neither be too large nor too small (when necessary, transferring the episcopal see to a more suitable place); in the same way, the boundaries of ecclesiastical provinces and regions are to be redrawn. The bishops have proper, independent and immediate authority over their dioceses. In the future they will be able to dispense from canon law in individual cases, except where this power is explicitly limited.

3. *The Roman Curia:* It is to be reformed in a way corresponding to the demands of the present day and age and to the diversity of the Church, and in respect to its competence, its mode of procedure, and its relation to the episcopacy; it is to be at the service of the bishops. Above all, it is to be internationalized (it is to include diocesan bishops and laity). The competence of papal nuncios and delegates is to be more exactly defined in respect to that of the Bishops. Before the end of the Council, Paul VI affirmed again his desire to reform the Curia—a desire expressed so clearly in the address to the same Curia before the second session of the Council.

The reform of the inquisitorial authority, the Holy Office, is the first step in Paul VI's reform of the Curia. This authority, now called "the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith," loses its position as the supreme congregation. Its mode of procedure is now subject to canon law. (Previously secret procedures are to be made public.) It is no longer possible for one to be condemned without the opportunity for self-defense and the competent bishops are granted a hearing. The authority is to be receptive to new findings: a close relationship to the biblical commission, the consultation with experts, organization of conferences of scholars. It must be recognized that some improvement has already been

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made in the work of this body which came in for such hard criticism from Cardinal Frings at the Council; since the beginning of the Council, not a single book has been placed on the Index, and competent authorities assure that this will remain the case in the future. In certain cases where the Holy Office had made mistakes, the decisions were explicitly withdrawn.

4. *The priesthood and the formation of priests:* a) The specific task of the priest within the framework of the universal priesthood of all is the special form of service involved in the preaching of the Word, the administration of the sacraments, and leadership of the congregation. The priest is not to be separated from the people, but is to be united with them in a brotherly manner in the midst of the world. His whole existence as a human being is to bear witness to the Gospel; between bishops and priests, a friendly relationship of mutual counsel and cooperation should be the rule. In each diocese a senate of priests is to be formed, which represents all priests of the diocese, and offers the bishop effective aid in administering the diocese. The priesthood and manual labor are not mutually exclusive. The priests of those churches of the East united with Rome, who, in accordance with ancient tradition, are married men, are no less priests. Even in the Latin church, fathers of families will be eligible for the office of deacon which is to be established.

b) The Council intentionally made no detailed prescriptions for the *formation of priests.* The bishops' conferences are to make arrangements for the seminaries in their own lands, and they are to be revised at regular intervals and approved by the Pope. In this way, priestly formation is always to be adapted to particular temporal and local conditions. For the clergy, traditional forms of piety are to yield to the Gospel. The study of the Bible is to be especially promoted as the soul of all theology. Dogmatic theology also is to proceed from biblical themes toward systematic formulation by way of the history of dogma and theology. Methods of instruction are to be re-examined. Questions which are out of date are no longer to be treated.

Openness to the world is to be fostered in every way: knowledge of contemporary philosophy and the progress of the natural sciences; being well-informed of developments that characterize the present day; a deep concern for human values, especially those demanded in our own day; preparation for discussion with modern man and the ability to listen to him; receptivity for different human situations; knowledge of the specific churches and non-Christian religions relevant to each country; practical pastoral training. Religious discipline should be adapted to the age of the students and should lead to greater independence and reasonable freedom.

c) The individual *religious congregations* (their general chapters) have to carry out a profound renewal and permit experimentation. Return to the sources (primarily the Gospel and not the Rule) and adaptation to the changed circumstances, are the criteria according to which all constitutions, prescriptions and customs are to be re-examined; out-of-date ordinances are to be dropped, without the multiplication of rules. Institutes and religious houses that no longer serve a useful purpose should not be permitted to accept any more novices and in so far as possible should be joined to more viable communities.

5. *The Missions:* The missionary task of the Church is given a theological foundation, without denying the salvation of the unbaptized. Whatever the younger churches can adopt from the customs, traditions, teaching, and art of their particular national cultures, that they are to do. With a view to this task, theological research should re-think the biblical revelation; the way of thinking proper to different peoples is to be respected in theology. The Christian communities should remain rooted culturally and socially in their people as a whole and above all, give the witness of an all-embracing love. Dialogue and cooperation should be the rule without interference of the Church in the affairs of the state. The missions should make a special contribution toward overcoming the scandal of a divided Christendom, so deeply felt in mission lands; as far as possible, the churches should cooperate and give common witness.

The Roman congregation responsible for the missions should seek ways and means to co-ordinate its activity with that of the other Christian missions. The Bishops' Synod should give special attention to the missionary activity of the Church. Those who have the over-all responsibility for the missions should have the help of a council that would assemble periodically and would be composed of the representatives of the missionary churches and of those in charge of the papal commitment to the missions — and not simply the Roman congregation responsible for the missions.

This all-embracing program of reform within the Church adopted by Vatican II will mean a great deal of work in the years to come. But it must not be forgotten that a great deal was not formulated in the decrees and that precisely this may be of greater significance for the next few decades:

1. a new vitality is apparent in the Catholic Church, which transcends any formulations. 2. a new freedom in thought and discussion has shown itself to be extremely fruitful. 3. a new relationship to truth, both more historical and more existential, has become a reality. 4.

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the fragmentary and contingent character of all documents of the Magisterium was experienced in the concrete. 5. Vatican II quite consciously avoided claiming the infallibility defined by Vatican I. 6. the theology of the neo-scholastic schools showed itself incapable of dealing with new problems. 7. the authority of a vital theology and of the theologians has been decisively strengthened. 8. a new ideal of church leadership has become visible on all levels (instead of one-man-rule, common responsibility). 9. the Church has given up characteristically medieval positions in regard to civil society, the state, political life and scholasticism. 10. the justifiable concerns of the eastern churches and of the reformation have now found acceptance within the Church.

What Next?

As it enters this new phase, the Catholic Church will have to reckon with new *difficulties and dangers*. Post-Vatican Catholicism can assume the same rigidity as post-tridentine Catholicism and thus fail in the task of listening anew to the Gospel of Jesus and of reading the signs of the times. A crisis of authority can touch only formal, external authority, not true inner authority. Misunderstandings on the part of the more traditionally oriented laity can be avoided through understanding and objective explanations *before* new decisions are put in force as well as by the emphasis of the positive element in negative measures.

The clarification of ambiguous conciliar formulation must be seen as a fruitful task of theology. The only thing which could precipitate a serious crisis is — as was seen in the Council — the tension between a Church eager for reform and a reluctant Curia. If the less numerous forces of renewal were not, in time, to gain the upper hand in Rome (an important way is by new appointments to higher offices in the Curia) and if attempts were to be made to restore — this would definitely lead to a serious crisis of confidence. Only a reform of the personnel and structures of the Curia can help to avoid such a crisis. Here as elsewhere renewal of spirits and conversion of heart are decisive.

The *tasks of the future* are enormous. The tasks of general character are quite obvious from the nature of the Council: the carrying out of the decrees in the entire Church: fundamental reform of canon law in accordance with theological principles (a commission has already been established); general renewal of theology, solidly biblical, historical and ecumenical.

Particular questions not solved by the Council are waiting for a positive solution: birth control seen from the point of view of personal responsibility; solving the problems connected with mixed marriages (validity and the education of the children); priestly celibacy in the Latin Church; reform of the Roman Curia in personnel and structure; the formal abrogation of the Index and censorship; reform of penitential practice: confession, indulgences, fast and abstinence; reform of dress and titles of clerical dignitaries; effective participation of the involved parties in the appointment of bishops; transferring the papal election from the college of cardinals to the Bishops' Council, a body more representative of the Church.

If now, at the end of the Council, I think of the proposals made in *The Council, Reform and Reunion* (1960) which at the time could probably be regarded as extreme demands, I might say today: The Council has certainly not done everything which it could have done from the point of view of the present situation. But it has done a great deal more than we expected at the time. At that time I wrote: "The Council will either be the fulfillment of a great hope or its disappointment. Mediocre results in the face of the seriousness of the world situation and the needs of Christianity would be a great disappointment." Today I can say: despite the real disillusionments, the Council has been the fulfillment of a great hope.

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LEWIS TURCO

SOME PINFEATHER BLUES

As you stand there, Melora, winking at
my world (doubly obscured by the
curtain's mist) your eye is
a sparrow flung searching among the morning
trees. Your gaze floats, windreft, inquiring
for its sulking mate. But it

is all to no effect, for she will not
rise from her nest, for sheer pique at
weathervanes which would spin
my wet kind of world today, not your sunny
one. So the braver eye flies homeward.
Not until you turn toward

hallways and cupboards do you unwink. Those
two brown birds address their ire at
me. Yes, I'm to blame. My
wings are only knuckles now; my mind is prey
to weasels and martens, and winds are
merely the rustlers of nests.

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The university is crucial

SPANISH STUDENTS REBEL

GABRIEL JACKSON

The Spanish universities have been plunged in their current state of extreme tension for about a year now. Last January, Madrid witnessed several demonstrations demanding "free syndicates" (labor unions not subject to Falange control) and the right to strike. These demonstrations involved both workers and university students, and the latter demanded on their own behalf an end to compulsory student membership in the government-controlled student union, the SEU. At the same time, within the universities of Madrid and Barcelona, there developed a strong movement for university reform; i.e., fuller liberty of inquiry and expression on the part of both faculty and students. In Madrid the students organized a series of extra-curricular lectures by distinguished professors on current spiritual and intellectual problems of Spain.

On February 20 the university rector, acting for the government, refused to permit the scheduled lecture of the liberal Christian Democratic Professor of International Law, Mariano Aguilar Navarro. The students responded by organizing a "Free Assembly of Students" which attempted to carry to the rector a petition for complete academic freedom. Police prevented them from seeing the rector, and several future lectures were canceled. On February 24 some 5,000 students joined a silent protest march through the University City. When faced by a police cordon they sat down on the pavement. Fire hoses were then turned on them. When they remained seated, the police at length attacked with truncheons, and some nine persons sustained serious injuries in the ensuing struggle. Four professors were immediately suspended from their functions, and police interrogations and intimidations continued actively through the month of March.

During the same weeks such conservative older Christian Democrats as José María Gil Robles expressed solidarity with the student demands, and a group of intellectuals headed by Professor Giménez Fernández (leftwing Christian Democrat) and Pedro Laín Entralgo (former rector at Madrid) collected 1161 signatures on a petition to the government calling for complete political freedom and amnesty for all persons jailed in connection with recent university or labor demonstrations.

The government was impressed by the strength of student disaffection, and it appeared ready to make slight concessions. A decree of April 7 reiterated the long-standing position of the Franco regime that "pluralism" in political or university organization is incompatible with principles of the "movement," (*movimiento* being the revealingly anonymous title by which spokesmen of the regime refer to the remains of its once strong Falangist ideology). But that same decree conceded the representative nature of the free student councils that had been formed in February, and announced that for the next two months (the balance of the academic year) syndical functions would "remain in the hands of the present delegates elected by the students."

Early in May the representatives of the new student unions rejected the April 7 decree as totally insufficient. It did not guarantee freedom of expression nor did it legally recognize the autonomous as against the government-controlled student organizations. And in the course of the summer the government itself destroyed whatever little hope of liberalization its stand in April might have encouraged.

In June it was announced that there would be "free elections" of new student representatives—but all students with questionable political records were barred from candidacy. On August 21 three professors were permanently expelled, and two were suspended for two years. On September 3 a new decree gave the chancellor of each university campus the power summarily to dismiss any student whom he considered guilty of political agitation. The same decree gave authority for direct censorship of all student publications to the Minister of Tourism and Information, Professor Manuel Fraga Iribarne. All student papers were to apply for new registration, and their editors must not be students who had at any time been guilty of "disciplinary infractions." Thus in preparation for the

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reopening of the universities in late October, the government had expelled the most important faculty leaders of the university reform movement, and had made it clear that only "safe" students could serve as spokesmen for their fellows.

An outline of the bare facts of the case will of course make it clear that academic freedom, as that phrase is understood in Western Europe and the United States, does not exist in Spain. This is in itself a very important point to understand, but the university crisis is significant also as a major symptom of the political and spiritual unrest which is prevalent throughout Spain today.

For perhaps ten years now the Franco regime, born of civil war, and constructed largely on the fascist model, vintage 1939, has been trying to liberalize its "image." Some of its officials have desired genuinely to liberalize the substance as well as the image.

The more intelligent men of the regime know perfectly well that economic development, higher living standards, and a modicum of social justice depend intimately on the granting of democratic liberties to the workers, the students, and ultimately to the Spanish people as a whole. They know that only through freedom of expression can there be a national reconciliation; whereas the slogans, and the organizational forms such as the government-controlled unions, serve to keep alive bitter memories of the Civil War. They know also that the Church, which strongly supported the dictatorship in its early years, has tended increasingly in recent years to sympathize with both labor and intellectual protest movements.

In all these matters the reactions of the students are crucial. Almost all university students come from the families of the relatively small professional and business middle-class. They are by definition an elite minority, more important to their country's future, person for person, than are the much more numerous student bodies of American universities. Similarly their parents, as individuals, are much more influential opinion-makers and decision-makers than are the corresponding, but more numerous, middle classes of the advanced industrial nations. If the *movimiento* is to outlive the present dictator, General Franco, the student elite must be educated to political orthodoxy in Franquist terms.

But every slight move towards liberalization in recent years has shown that the children of the Catholic conservative middle-class are increasingly alienated from the regime which pretends to have resolved all Spain's historic problems. One of the main aims of the wise and moderate professors involved in the university reform movement has been to make possible a constructive intellectual opposition which could mediate between the unimaginative, inertial dictatorship, and the amorphous but insistent, and potentially revolutionary, forces demanding the democratization of Spanish life in all its aspects. The expulsion of the professors is thus a serious setback for both the theoretical and *de facto* liberalization of the regime.

Destruction by Slander

Fully as important as the political implications of the university crisis are the personalities involved. The three professors permanently expelled are José López Aranguren (ethics, Madrid); Agustín García Calvo (Latin philology and literature, Madrid); and Enrique Tierno Galván (political science, Salamanca). Those suspended for two years are Mariano Aguilar Navarro (international law, Madrid); and Santiago Montero Díaz (history, Madrid). They are without exception among the best-loved professors in Spain from the standpoint of their concern for the welfare of their students. They are also, without exception, among the most highly respected writers and scholars in the university community.

Spain in all ages and under all forms of government has been singularly productive of men who combine great intellectual force with great personal warmth. The best way for petty officials to combat the influence of such men is to try to destroy their moral reputation. Thus in the present instance a whisper campaign has been mounted against García Calvo. He has been known to lecture sympathetically on the moral outlook of Seneca. This, in the whisper campaign, has been transformed into advocacy of suicide. He is known to be separated from his wife. This, in the whisper campaign, has transformed him into an advocate of free love. Thus the Spanish student body is treated to the edifying spectacle of the government's efforts to destroy by slander some of the finest human beings in the country.

The expulsions also have the effect of depriving the professors of their livelihood. One of them is fortunate in having personal sources of income, but the other four are men with families who have depended entirely on their academic earnings. It goes without saying that once expelled from university chairs they cannot be gainfully employed in their own profession within Spain.

A final comment on historical perspective is worth making. Twice in recent Spanish history events in the university have been harbingers of political change. High ideals and political naïveté went hand and hand

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in the university agitation which preceded the Liberal revolution of 1868 and the Republican revolution of 1931. Today's students are much more knowledgeable, technically speaking, than their counterparts in previous generations. They know far more of economics and business administration than did the students of 1931. But they may be even more naïve politically because there was in fact more freedom of expression and more local self-government in 1868 and in 1930 than there are today in Spain. Anyone who faces this fact squarely will be all the more deeply concerned at the government suppression of those university forces capable of giving some kind of moderate, democratic leadership to Spain in the years to come.

A Protestant viewpoint

PAUL TILLICH

ROBERT McAFEE BROWN

Despite the sense of personal loss engendered by the death of Paul Tillich, there is another sense in which his death came at the "right time"—a *kairos*, as he might have styled it. For although Dr. Tillich remained vigorously alert and mentally quick until the end of his seventy-nine years, he had substantially completed his theological work. Most of what he had to say had been committed to paper, his "system" had been finished in three definitive volumes, and while he was always venturing in new directions, he had managed to bequeath to succeeding generations the legacy of a method for dealing with new questions that could be utilized by those with both less wisdom and less years. (I would qualify the judgment only to the extent of pointing out that in recent years Tillich had moved into the arena of the other world religions, an endeavor sparked by a visit to Japan, and fanned by relations at Chicago with Mercea Eliade.)

In making this judgment, I do not mean to imply that Tillich has had his day, and that in the future his theology will be interesting only as an example of how people did theology back in the '40s, '50s and '60s. Here is one place where I would want to disassociate myself from such critics of Tillich as Harvey Cox, Paul Van Buren and others. I think that Cox, in *The Secular City*, underestimates Tillich's ongoing significance by dismissing him as a mind asking questions no longer being asked, while Van Buren (in a review of Tillich's *Systematic Theology*, Volume III, in *The Christian Century*) appeared to dismiss Tillich as a rather second-rate intellect, a judgment that quite properly drew gasps of astonishment and rebuttal from the *Century*'s readers.

On the contrary, it has been my experience, in teaching theology to undergraduates, that Tillich succeeds, in quite unparalleled fashion, in framing for students their own questions, and in forcing them to take seriously a theological approach not only to their questions but to possible theological answers to them. Not myself having been a "Tillichian," this was not a state of affairs I had either anticipated or tried to force when I moved onto the university scene, and yet on occasion after occasion, when I have asked students at the conclusion of a course which books have made the most impact on their own thinking, the answer has been *Dynamics of Faith* or *The Courage to Be*.

I suggest, then, that Tillich's thought will endure precisely because he was *not* asking nineteenth century questions, but was asking the perennial human questions. He offered, of course, his own answers to those questions, and as anybody who has studied Tillich is aware, the questions and the answers fit for him like hand in glove. But one could be exposed to him, and influenced by him, without having to become a "Tillichian," and many who over the years have disagreed with his specific conclusions will gratefully acknowledge that they learned from him a methodology, a way of approaching the human situation, that continues to be exceedingly helpful in a new theological era.

Across the Chasms

It is perhaps Tillich's greatest gift to theology that he has enabled the conversation to persist across the apparently uncrossable chasms that separate so much theology from so much modern thought. In a time when

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theologians have often written simply for other theologians, Tillich, along with his more strictly systematic writings, engaged in a continuous endeavor to communicate far beyond the pale of those who are conventionally labeled "theologians." He could do this partly because his massive mind had a place to entertain insights from disciplines formally at the farthest remove from his own, and partly because his whole methodology made it imperative for the theologian to listen as well as to speak.

Thus, to take only two examples, Tillich was very much at home in the field of depth psychology, and, to an increasing degree (partly due to the influence and *expertise* of his wife), in the field of modern art. And in these attempts at theological bridge-building, he not only helped the other disciplines come to understand themselves better, but was able to use the other disciplines as means for illuminating otherwise obscure dimensions of Christian faith. For a generation brought up in close relationship to the psychiatric couch, for example, Tillich's treatment of the Pauline concept of grace in terms of the experience of "acceptance," has illumined many things not only about Paul but about the human situation, and his sermon, "You Are Accepted," in *The Shaking of the Foundations,* and the portions of *The Courage To Be* dealing with "The Courage to Accept Acceptances," are examples of contemporary theological writing that open up new ranges of human experience to theological comprehension, and vice-versa.

Similarly, a whole theological generation has had to cope with Tillich's originally startling assertion that Picasso's *Guernica* is a great Protestant painting. The strident lines and harsh distortions of the latter have been a visual way of portraying the reality of judgment in the world, of mirroring the brokenness of human existence that must be understood before the full lineaments of healing grace can be appropriated. It is possible that other paintings may now have to speak to us in equally telling ways, but the point is that since Tillich, no theologian worth his salt can afford to ignore the world of art as a realm in which theological insight concerning the human situation is to be found.

Tillich's amazing ability to communicate with generations of university and seminary students, let alone their elders, is all the more remarkable when one reflects that Tillich came to this country in 1933, one of Hitler's first gifts to America, and that at the age of 47 he had to learn a new language and a new culture. The first years were intensely difficult, and in a moving speech on the occasion of his retirement from Union Theological Seminary, Tillich described how the "opening doors" in the '30s always swung closed on him; he would be invited to speak at a university and never invited back. Part of the problem was simply linguistic, and to his death Tillich retained some of the Germanisms he acquired at this time: "crucification," "virginal birth" and the like. Many Americans, furthermore, were not yet ready for the sudden philosophical turn the most casual conversation could take in the midst of an afternoon stroll down Riverside Drive: "I know vat zis tree means to me, but vat does zis tree mean to itself?"

But in later years the problem was the opposite one, and a succession of student associates and tutors had to protect Tillich as best they could from an unending stream of invitations and requests for repeat performances. For as Tillich's English improved, students began to discover that here was a superior mind that was really willing to deal in patient fashion with the groping, fumbling American attempts at profound thought. Indeed, reflecting upon the years in which I sat in Tillich's classes as a student, the years in which I was a colleague of his on the Union Seminary faculty, and the times when as a "visiting fireman" he visited the university campus at which I now teach, I think perhaps his most enduring and endearing quality as a teacher was his uncanny ability to take a student's question with utmost seriousness.

Those who were initially afraid to expose their small minds to a great one discovered very soon that such fears were groundless. On many occasions, indeed, Tillich drew from a halting question profound implications far beyond those originally present in the mind of the questioner, and in so doing he drew the student into a further exploration of the exciting realm of thought. He could make of the most trivial query an occasion for mutual illumination, and his frequent response, "I thank you for zat question," made clear that help did not simply flow in one direction. There was a real sense in which Tillich needed the experience of the give-and-take of discussion, both as a means of communicating directly, and as a means of checking up on the degree to which he was getting through. If he helped the questioner, the questioner also helped him. An excellent example of this interplay is contained in the taped discussions Tillich had at Santa Barbara with a group of students, published as D.M. Brown, ed., *Ultimate Concern* (Harper and Row).

Catholic Interest

It soon began to emerge on the American scene that while Tillich was a Protestant, talking a great deal about "the Protestant principle," and writing books on

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The Protestant Era (which he originally wanted to entitle *The End of the Protestant Era?*), he nevertheless was a figure with whom Catholic thought must cope. Long before the era of ecumenical goodwill, Catholic theologians were taking Tillich with great seriousness, and as far back as 1950, Gustave Weigel had written a significant essay called "Contemporaneous Protestantism and Paul Tillich" (*Theological Studies*, June 1950). More recently, George Tavard has written a critical book on Tillich (Tavard, *Paul Tillich and the Christian Message*, Scribners), and a recent symposium (O'Meara and Weisser, eds., *Paul Tillich in Catholic Thought*, The Priory Press) contains fifteen essays by Catholic theologians of international stature.

Some of the initial Catholic interest in Tillich undoubtedly came because in the apparent chaos of much Protestant thought, here was a man who wrote both systematically and philosophically—two qualities of enduring worth through most of the history of Catholic theology and not always notable hallmarks of Protestant theological effort. But in later years, the attention has come to center on the fact that Tillich, by the very breadth and catholicity of his concerns, was dealing with material no theologian of whatever confessional stance could afford to ignore.

Thus Tillich's "Protestant principle," his protest against idolatry wherever it is found even if it be found within a church, is a notion that has become increasingly congenial to Catholic thought in the age of *aggiornamento*, for it is another way of talking about "reform and renewal," about the fact that judgment must begin at the house of God, and about the need for emblazoning at all times the slogan *ecclesia semper reformanda*, the church always in process of being reformed. (A Roman Catholic student in one of my courses last year went so far as to write a paper on the theme, "The Second Vatican Council as an Expression of the 'Protestant Principle.'")

Some of the strictures in Tillich's earlier writings about the failure of Roman Catholicism to take this maxim with utmost seriousness have now been dated by what has happened since the advent of Pope John, but the theme will remain a constant necessity for both Catholics and Protestants in any era when the church begins to take too much complacent pride in reformations presumably finished, whether in the first half of the sixteenth century or the second half of the twentieth.

Tillich is sometimes criticized for putting so much stress on the apparently negative theme of "the Protestant principle," as though it had little content by means of which to engage in the struggle against idolatry, and it is at this point that the other part of his theme needs new highlighting in our day, namely that there must be a relationship of tension between the "Protestant principle" and "Catholic substance." As Tillich put it in the last volume of his *Systematic Theology*: "The Protestant principle (which is a manifestation of the prophetic Spirit) is not restricted to the churches of the Reformation or to any other church; it transcends every particular church, being an expression of the Spiritual Community. It has been betrayed by every church, including the churches of the Reformation, but it is also effective in every church as the power which prevents profanization and demonization from destroying the Christian churches completely. *It alone is not enough; it needs the 'Catholic substance,' the concrete embodiment of the Spiritual Presence;* but it is the criterion of the demonization (and profanization) of such embodiment. It is the expression of the victory of the Spirit over religion." (p. 245, italics added)

That this must be high on the agenda of theological concerns in our new ecumenical situation is made clear in the introduction to the same work: "Protestant systematic theology must take into consideration the present, more affirmative relation between Catholicism and Protestantism. Contemporary theology must consider the fact that the Reformation was not only a religious gain but also a religious loss. Although my system is very outspoken in its emphasis on the 'Protestant principle,' it has not ignored the demand that the 'Catholic substance' be united with it. . . ."

Here, I believe, Tillich has suggested one of the most fruitful lines for our ongoing ecumenical task. The Reformation was a *loss* as well as a gain, and Protestants must learn this fact anew, seeking to explore, in concert with their Catholic colleagues, those areas of "Catholic substance" that have been jeopardized by the divisiveness introduced into the Western Church since the sixteenth century. But by the same token the Reformation was *gain* as well as loss, and here Catholics must be willing to explore, with their Protestant colleagues, those dimensions of the life of the church that became prematurely frozen and thereby lost the ability to impart life-giving warmth.

Thus no one who exposes himself to Tillich will be allowed to remain complacent. He may have some of his most cherished preconceptions called into question, and his peace may thus be disturbed. But in the process, he may also discover Tillich leading him to help from quite unexpected quarters, and however much he may finally differ with the man who led him there, be forced to render thanks that nowhere does God leave Himself without a witness.

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COMMENT

One of my avowed aims in this department is to avoid talking about the Council and related public issues in the Church. But on the handy principle that excessive scrupulosity can pale the brow, I herewith release myself from my vow this time.

What interests me is what interests many. How can the spirit of reform invoked by the Council make its way into the ordinary life of the Church? Actually, this is a question which can be framed in many ways: How can the decrees of the Council be implemented in the dioceses and parishes, schools and organizations? How can structures be created which will insure the continuance of the Council's work? Yet questions like this suggest to me a still broader query: what changes the Church? If we had a comprehensive answer to that one, we would be in a much better position to answer the others.

The trouble is that such a project would be extraordinarily difficult. It would have to weigh the evidence provided by the history of the Church (which reforms took, and which didn't, and why?); by the general history of other groups, movements and institutions; by psychology, sociology and cultural anthropology. It would also require some precise determination of the impact which outside events, moods and trends tend to have within the Church. More often than not the Church has reflected its cultural setting. Yet, so far as I know, no one has managed to fashion general laws or principles which would elucidate the way this actually happens. In any case, it is at least intuitively clear that change in the Church is a result of many influences. If one tried to fashion an equation which would map out the process, it would be exceedingly complicated. (Let a = conciliar legislation; b = impact of liturgical change; c = secular intellectual zeitgeist; d = type of seminary training; e = extent of Catholic higher education; . . . you can see what I mean.) In short, it sounds like an impossible project; and how could one possibly work the comings and goings of the Holy Spirit into the equation?

I was indirectly illuminated on some of these problems when I recently stumbled across an article written by Thomas O'Dea in 1961 and published in the first volume of the *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*. Entitled "Dilemmas in Institutionalization," O'Dea's article attempts to describe a "fundamental antinomy inherent in the relation of religion to normal social processes." This "antinomy," he observes, springs from the fact that "the founded religions . . . begin in 'charismatic moments' and proceed in a direction of relative 'routinization.'" This has not only been the actual case historically, but it can also be seen as necessary "to give objective form to the religious movement and insure its continuity." But there is a price to be paid. However much religion may need institutionalization for its survival, it will also suffer from this very need: "The subtle, the unusual, the charismatic, the supra-empirical must be given expression in tangible, ordinary, and empirical social forms." Here is the source of the basic antimony, and O'Dea presents five dilemmas which express it very starkly.

As the date of his article indicates, O'Dea wrote before Vatican II got under way; moreover, he makes only the most fleeting reference to specific problems in Roman Catholicism. In the remainder of this column I will try to summarize his five dilemmas, apply them (inadequately) to the present situation in the Church, and briefly suggest what changes may be needed.

1. "The Dilemma of Mixed Motivation." O'Dea is here calling attention to one way in which institutionalization creates stability. It is able "to mobilize self-interested as well as disinterested motivation behind institutional patterns." The catch, though, is that the self-interested motivation can easily become dominant. Those selected to lead are likely to be chosen on the basis of their ability to meet the "functional needs of the social organization." Yet the necessity for criteria of this kind means that there will be no sharp distinction between the two types of motivation which may actually guide the behavior of those chosen for leadership. In short, the institutional question is: Can he do the job? His private motivations are relatively unimportant. And when self-interested motivation becomes dominant, the result can be "careerism . . . bureaucratic rigorism . . . and official timidity and lethargy."

No great imagination should be needed to see symptoms of this dilemma in the Church today. Very few of the bishops, either in America or the rest of the world are, in their own right, distinguished men. While it is only charitable to believe that their motivation is disinterested (e.g., the good of the Church), the fact remains that they have been more notable for serving the "functional needs" of the ecclesiastical organization than for leading prophetic crusades. The Council, however, offers some evidence that this kind of sweeping generalization may be unfair and biased; the real test will come when they have once again to act individually or in small groups. On a somewhat lower level, the

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many silencings and suppressions of late would suggest that "bureaucratic rigorism . . . and official timidity" have hardly gone out of style. A change in this case may well require a radical re-shaping of present bureaucracies in the Church rather than an attempt to infuse them with a new spirit.

2. "The Symbolic Dilemma: Objectification versus Alienation." This dilemma is less complicated than its description might make it sound. "Worship is the fundamental religious response but in order to survive its charismatic moment worship must become stabilized in established forms and procedures." The value of an established ritual is that it helps to "pattern individual response" and to create a "genuine social and communal activity." The drawback to this wholly necessary "process of objectification" is soon apparent: it can go so far that it will come to have no relationship to the subjective experience of worshippers. This development O'Dea calls "the alienation of symbolism," and he acutely observes that when this happens a religion is likely to be in deep trouble. In some cases, the dead symbols can evoke sharp aggression.

Obviously, the liturgists have been onto this problem for some time. Their job is not an easy one. Where they can, they try to create new symbols ("The Word"); but often they are forced to find ways of evoking a fresh response to very old ones (bread, wine, supper). So far—especially with the help of the *Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy*—they have been highly successful in shaping a fresh theology of the Mass. The critical question is whether their effort at revitalizing the symbols will take hold with the people; that will be the ultimate test of the present changes.

3. "The Dilemma of Administrative Order: Elaboration versus Effectiveness." In this instance, O'Dea observes how bureaucratic structures are prone "to elaborate new offices and new networks of communication and command in the face of new problems." But this can easily go too far, resulting in an unwieldy organization, "breakdowns in communication . . . ambiguous definitions of authority," and so forth. It can also happen that the first dilemma mentioned above adds a further complication: vested interests come into existence as the bureaucracy is more and more elaborated. Hence, "genuine reform becomes threatening to the status, security and self-validation of the incumbents of office."

The last passage quoted is important, especially the words "security and self-validation." Clearly, the older conceptions of the bishop's role had the advantage of clarity. The bishop knew his authority, knew what he was supposed to do and knew who he was. He might surely have his problems, but at least he worked within a reasonably well defined context. This is probably not quite the case any more, especially with those bishops who take seriously the demand that they behave like the servants they are supposed to be. To be a servant, and at the same time to lead with authority, must be an exceedingly difficult combination in practice. Or imagine another situation: a priest in a large city waits thirty years to receive a pastorate—thirty years with no authority of his own. But in the meantime the Council has taken place and the laity in his parish will no longer accept a pastor who wants his authority to be exclusive. He could well feel (unless he was a rare soul) that he has, alas, waited in vain. He might have considerable trouble deciding what he is supposed to do—and who, in the end, he is as a priest. The only feasible change would entail a revolutionary re-thinking of the episcopal and priestly role.

4. "The Dilemma of Delimitation: Concrete Definition versus Substitution of Letter for Spirit." O'Dea's point in this case is that "the import of a religious message must be translated into terms that have relevance with respect to the prosaic course of everyday life," but that this necessary process of "concretization" carries with it the danger of limiting and "finitizing the religious message itself." Ethical insights, for instance, need to be translated into some set of rules; that is the way in which the insights are made comprehensible, concrete and applicable to actual situations. But the more this is done, the more likely becomes a narrow legalism.

My own guess is that the way out of this dilemma is by a constant renewal of the original insights (which is very hard in practice). Yet it must be recognized that the business of renewing insights can be highly baffling to the ordinary man. Tell a man that his religion and ethics are too legalistic and, as likely as not, he will at once conclude that you must be saying "anything goes." The hardest task which still lies before those who have spent many years struggling for "freedom in the Church," is to formulate some new rules to go with their (valid) insights. If this is not done, either the old legalism will remain in force (because it has the attraction of concreteness), or "the new freedom" is likely to be translated into popular terms as "do whatever you like."

5. "The Dilemma of Power: Conversion versus Coercion." O'Dea's final dilemma turns on the necessity that religion find some way of relating itself to the other institutions and values of society. This relationship is unavoidable if religion is to have a social meaning. Yet as soon as the relationship is established there is an

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immediate danger that the different values and institutions will become confused. Hence, society may try to use religion to legitimize its own values; and religion may try to use society to give sanction to its work. In the latter case, there is a substitution of "external pressures for interior conviction."

Just a brief comment (in the form of two questions): Which comes closer to the ideal relationship of Church and society: Cardinal Spellman taking a trip to Vietnam, saying "my country, right or wrong," and praising the sacrifice of "our boys"; or Father Daniel Berrigan, S.J., joining groups which protest the war and lending his name to specific demonstrations against the military? I would say—decisively—Father Berrigan. But it would be a mistake to think that similar choices would always be so easy. If I were leading a protest these days—any protest for any cause—I would say "let's get a priest on our committee"; you can see the cynical possibilities here.

DANIEL CALLAHAN

BATHTUB NIGHTS

THE STAGE

For flat criticism that completely misses the point, there is nothing to compare with an author's explanation of his own work. With rare exceptions, "what I really meant" pieces are tantalizingly vague and misleading—almost as if some friendly spirit had stupefied the writer to keep him from giving too much away.

What brings this to mind is an interview that Peter Weiss gave a while back concerning his play "Marat/-Sade." Although one interview should never be held against an interview-prone author (Mr. Weiss has presumably planted contradictory theories in other places), I can only say that if this is all he got out of the play, he was wasting his time writing it up for the stage.

It seems that Weiss' main concern in the play was with the revolutionary ideas debated by the Messrs. Marat and Sade. These ideas are certainly interesting, and a good cut above the ideas most people have in their bathtubs, but nothing you would be surprised to find in a good German quarterly. Weiss' belief that they form the heart of the play has lent some small ammunition to his detractors, who claim that he hasn't written a play at all, and that Peter Brook's direction is a trick to make it seem that he has.

But the really interesting thing about the ideas is that they are undercut all the way through by matching ironies, which then proceed to undercut each other. To begin with, both sides of the debate are presented as originating in the same brain—and the brain of the Marquis de Sade, at that (in case you don't know the play's premise—the Marquis has written a play for his fellow-inmates in the asylum of Charenton: significantly, a play intended for the patients' therapy. Mr. Weiss gives us both the play and a play enclosing the play. Thus the refraction is infinite). Marat, the revolutionary, is a character in the mind of the Marquis, and thus partakes of de Sade's particular pathology; but to densify matters, the part has been given to one of the asylum's paranoid patients—therapeutic casting indeed. Marat's radicalism and the actor's paranoia periodically intertwine so that you can't always be sure which is talking. Is Mr. Weiss suggesting that they are at bottom the same thing? or is this simply de Sade's idea? or is it —and this isn't as absurd as it sounds—a defense of paranoia in a stinking world? (As a response to the Weiss/de Sade world, paranoia hardly goes far enough.)

The audience gradually becomes implicated in this confusion. The night I was there, and presumably on other nights as well, people began to applaud their favorite ideas, only to waver when they realized that the avowed lunatics on the stage were clapping even louder. Does this concurrence make the lunatics sane or us mad? The uncertainty reached a screaming crescendo at the end when the lunatics marched forward and solemnly applauded the audience.

As you sit there clapping the lunatics and watching them clap back, you are part of a regulation-absurd tableau—de Sade and Weiss have obliterated all distinctions or reversed them: the monkeys are outside the bars, the visitors inside. My own reaction, for what it's worth, was that if they want to clap me I certainly don't want to clap them: which, of course, completed the reversal.

In discussing the play, Weiss has explicitly rejected absurdity, as if he found the concept (or unconcept) repugnant. But this is one of the most misleading things about his analysis. For the whole point of having historic events acted out by lunatics is to demonstrate a corresponding berserk element in the world of fact. In between de Sade's discussions with Marat, which are rational enough, various segments of the French Revolution are acted out, and these are steeped in dementia and prove entirely suitable to insane actors. The Paris mob, mighty right arm of revolution, is reduced to a stamping and gibbering of lunatics; and you would hardly know the difference. Marat, the quintessential reformer, lurks in his tub working off childhood spites; his murderess, Charlotte Corday, is a victim of melancholia and sleeping sickness, who has to be woken up

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before she can do anything at all and her companion, Duperret, turns out to be a raving satyr, who makes high-minded speeches while fumbling grotesquely for Charlotte at the same time.

It is not so much that the world is insane—which would be a stale one-dimensional observation—as that in the world of consequences it hardly matters one way or the other. Supposing the French Revolution had been performed in a lunatic asylum, would the results have been any different? Could not madmen with totally different goals and motives have achieved the same effects? Or, arguing backwards, is there anything in the effects of the actual revolution—the carnage, the distortion of language and of ideals—to prove that it wasn't the work of madmen?

At the end, the lunatics sing a song about the glorious 15 years that have passed since the Revolution, and it is at once a perfectly good patriotic song and perfectly insane. And if we return a moment to the debate between Sade and Marat we find in a roundabout way the same conclusion: that revolutionary action is noble and necessary, but that its consequences are as absurd as those of any other kind of action, or of no action at all. Rationality is a quality of thought, not of events.

Mr. Weiss is reported to have Marxist sympathies himself, but if so this is a classic case of the artist's powerful subterranean drive to subvert his own ideology—or, in this case, all ideology. He has used tricks whose implications he has not been willing to understand: even down to the trick of shamming insanity. It is not surprising that he has talked stupidly about his own play. The ideas as such are presented in all seriousness, and Weiss ingenuously says, there—that's your play, the ideas. But by handing them over to lunatics, and by having them illustrated in drooling pantomime, he has shown what he really thinks of them. This is what becomes of ideas in the real order, he says—demonstrating a conviction much stronger than anything he may think he thinks.

(Lest anyone suggest that this a routine case of a capitalist critic jeering at a Marxist lapse, it should be said parenthetically that what Graham Greene calls "the artist's duty to disloyalty" applies in all situations: a sense that something is missing in the going formulation, and an urge to reintroduce it. An artist's obligations toward the fullness of creation always override his sectarian opinions.)

Much of the credit for Marat/Sade's effectiveness has, as noted, been attributed to Peter Brook's direction—sometimes with a slight surliness, as if Brook had done something slightly dishonorable in staging the play so well. But although the direction is all that it is said to be, it is no better than the play deserves. In fact, a reading of the play is almost as impressive as a viewing. The language is vivid without ever lapsing into the boozy woolgathering that threatens most verse plays at one time or another; and Adrian Mitchell's translation is a model of its kind. The absence of conventional plot movement is more than made up for by the dance of ironies, itself a kind of complicated ballet with a definite formal structure. This play gives itself to a director and says in effect, do everything you know, shoot the works—enlist every gesture and sound-effect you know; it won't be too much.

Richard Peaslee's music, played by a bathhouse five that makes Spike Jones' band look like the Budapest String Quartet, adds considerable atmospheric assistance. The tunes are a kind of Brechtian-baroque, suitable to whichever century your thoughts happen to have strayed to. The cast has already been praised to a crisp elsewhere, but one more Zen handclap might go to Glenda Jackson, Clifford Rose and John Steiner. As with most English companies, the Royal Shakespeare has enough good actors to go round so that there isn't that dismal gap between the leads and the bit parts which bedevils so many American casts, notoriously the one currently laboring with "The Country Wife" at Lincoln Center.

A good deal more could be said about the play—its religious and sexual motifs, which get whirled up in the general ambiguity; the role of the asylum governor who is surrogate for the sane world, and for us the audience—but enough. A play of this kind has a different face for everyone who sees it. So maybe one should recommend it with caution. It is at the very least, a theatrical event which uses every inch of the theater and bombards senses you didn't know you had. Mr. Weiss claims that he has tried to combine Brecht and Artaud—a logical impossibility, but so much the worse for logic. The result is combustible, and whatever way you react to it, you have never seen anything like it before. (*At the Martin Beck*)

WILFRID SHEED

SICK JOKES

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THE SCREEN

The plethora of new movies that turned up at year's end has crowded the reviewing schedule, but here are a few notes that may help you make up your mind about seeing some of the recent arrivals. Sidney Poitier, who gave such a stirring performance last month while res-

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cuing a blind girl in "A Patch of Blue," is back again in another soap opera, "The Slender Thread." This time he is endeavoring to save a suicide-bent woman, but since he is on the phone talking to her throughout practically the entire movie, there is little to say about his performance except that he registers concern and elation and uses the telephone well. Anne Bancroft, as the neurotic woman who has already taken the lethal dose of pills, is given more opportunity for histrionics, especially in the flashbacks during which she relates to Poitier, a student volunteer at Seattle's Crisis Clinic, the steps that led to this second suicide attempt. Although Stirling Silliphant's script is based on Shana Alexander's factual *Life* article, and the scenes showing the tracing of the phone call and the efforts to find the woman are fascinating, the picture as a whole is too contrived and long-drawn-out, particularly during the overwrought flashbacks. Perhaps "The Slender Thread" would have made a better hour-long TV show. It deserves a hand, however, for honoring the Crisis Clinic and for making no point in the story line that Poitier is a Negro.

Since I'm somewhat squeamish about movies that make fun of anyone's religion, I found myself becoming ill-at-ease at Louis Malle's adventure-comedy, "Viva Maria." This is too bad because Malle, who directed, also had a hand in the producing and writing, and came up with some very bright touches along the way. The plot, though somewhat silly and very thin, is about a couple of girls, both named Maria, with a traveling French troupe in 1907 Latin America. The girls, merrily played by Jeanne Moreau and Brigitte Bardot who display a great deal of charm and flesh, become involved in a revolution which gives Moreau a chance to spout Shakespeare at the peasants, and Bardot, who was trained as an anarchist and dynamiter by her father, to toss bombs and raise hell. Henri Decae's color photography of the Mexican landscapes is gorgeous. So are some interior scenes that Toulouse Lautrec would have been proud of, and the girls themselves. But Malle didn't know when to quit. He not only made his picture much too long by repeating himself, but also made it a strange mixture of jokes, slapstick, deadly serious stuff, and dull stretches of nothing in particular.

From Italy has come "The Tenth Victim," which is set in the 21st century and seems at first to go beyond the usual Huxley-Wells-Orwell tales. This is fortunately a time and world without war. Instead, however, to let off steam people join an organization known as Big Hunt which entitles members to alternate as hunter and victim—and the hunter who wins ten kills, always applauded by the crowds, also wins fame and tangible assets. The picture opens with a bang at the Masoch Club where Ursula Andress, wearing a metal bra that conceals tiny guns, polishes off her ninth victim. Marcello Mastroianni is to be her tenth, and the scene shifts to Rome where she hopes to kill him before the eyes of the world as part of a TV commercial.

Director Elio Petri manages to get some action into this plot, but the whole thing becomes a long sick joke, and eventually, in spite of some beautiful color photography of Rome and modern settings that lean toward Pop and Op, the picture gets as tiresome as "Alphaville." Mastroianni walks through his role in a dazed manner—which may be correct for the 21st century, but since such beauties as Miss Andress and Elsa Martinelli are on hand, Mastroianni's drowsiness seems rather odd. "The Tenth Victim" is by no means a bore, but the world-of-things-to come is beginning to be. PHILIP T. HARTUNG

BOOKS

Facing the moral challenge of the bomb

Nuclear War: the Ethic, the Rhetoric, the Reality

JUSTUS GEORGE LAWLER

Newman, $4.95

PETER STEINFELS

The point of this book is that we are all morally implicated in the possession of a nuclear deterrent, which, to the extent of its "overkill" capacity, can in no way be justified.

It seems incredible that such a message could be lost in a plethora of scolding. But Mr. Lawler, no man to sacrifice a pet peeve to the clarity of his argument, has evidently taken the occasion of this book to clean out his desk drawer. Every magazine article which has irritated him over the past several years is probably worked in here somewhere, plus a few of his own *Continuum* editorials. Obiter dicta shroud the pages like cobwebs.

In "The Ethic" section, Mr. Lawler upholds the "entire traditional doctrine of the just war." He quotes John XXIII (but ignores Paul VI). He attacks the *National Review* and others who sneer at bids for peace as "trivial" (but later terms the test-ban treaty "utterly trivial"). He polishes off old argument

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with John Courtney Murray and Paul Ramsey about their various limited-war justifications of deterrence. Along the way, he chastises *America* for opposing the recognition of Red China, slaps Walter Lippmann's wrist for his silence on the Cuban blockade, but then forgives him for behaving so admirably on Vietnam and this Goldwater thing.

"The Reality" section presents an analysis of the Cuban missile crisis which Arthur Waskow's Preface advertizes as "toughminded." I am not sure what Mr. Waskow means. Perhaps he refers to Lawler's dauntlessness in categorically making doubtful political judgments, or even in contradicting himself on a central point of his arguments—the likelihood of irrational Cuban action independent of Russian control. On page 157 such action is highly unlikely ("Short of insanity among its leaders, Cuba would never attack the United States . . ."). The U.S. blockade is therefore unnecessary, i.e., immoral. On page 163, such action is quite possible ("assume that the feeble balance of a Dr. Castro was tilted and that he compelled the Soviet technicians to launch their missiles . . ."). The U.S. blockade is therefore risky, i.e., immoral. Reverse your facts; reach the same conclusion. There is indeed a certain toughmindedness here.

It is, however, "The Rhetoric" which truly interests Mr. Lawler, a teacher of English literature. In this, the largest section of the book, he argues against the "crackpot realist" style in thinking about war and peace. He attacks Herman Kahn, the Rand Corporation and other strategic analysts, maintaining that their language and tone are morally paralyzing.

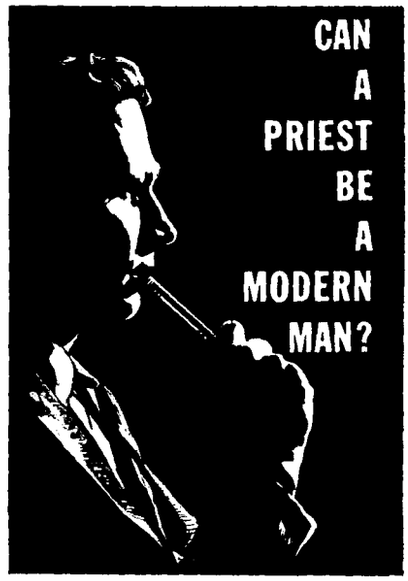
Certainly every mode of thought and speech has its own advantages and disadvantages. It might well be that the disadvantages of some of the modes presently employed by foreign policy commentators fall heavily in the area of morality. They may possibly obtain their "clarity" precisely by eliminating that part of human sensibility which tends toward moral judgment. To set forth the merits and corresponding costs of each of the current styles of strategic discourse would be extremely valuable.

Has Mr. Lawler done this? One is first struck by the remarkable coincidence between those who employ, according to him, faulty rhetoric and those with whom he happens to disagree. Is there not, somewhere, a fellow-holder of Mr. Lawler's opinions who is prone to abstractions, jargon, or neologisms? Might not the peace movement, too, have its problems with rhetoric?

As a matter of fact, many of the writers Lawler cites favorably either admire or employ the approach of some of his "crackpot realists." Lawler terms Herman Kahn's *On Thermonuclear War* a *"summa demonica."* But H. Stuart Hughes called it "one of the great works of our time" and added that the "strategists of deterrence offer one of the best reservoirs of brains in the country. Alongside their reasoning, the arguments of most "peace" people seem vacuous and sentimental. . . ." Amitai Etzioni recently called for the establishment of a Rand-like corporation to deal with domestic affairs. This does not imply that various styles of rhetoric are without shortcomings, only that the question cuts across party lines.

Nor does Mr. Lawler's term, "crackpot realism" (borrowed from C. Wright Mills), really tell us much, stretched as it is to encompass such various commentators as Kahn, Henry Kissinger and Thomas Molnar. At times it is equated with "icy rationality" and over-abstract social scientese; it suffers from "humanistic deficiencies" such as "little awareness of history."

If this will do for Kahn, it will not do for Kissinger, a sometime historian, nor for Molnar whose polemics spring from an adopted French integralist humanism. And when Lawler even throws in the *National Review* and such hot ideologues as Frank Meyer with "icy" Kahn and Rand, his category is emptied of all content. Next to the *National Review* and Meyer, the *Council for Correspondence Newsletter* and a man like Arthur Waskow are positively polar. No *two* categories



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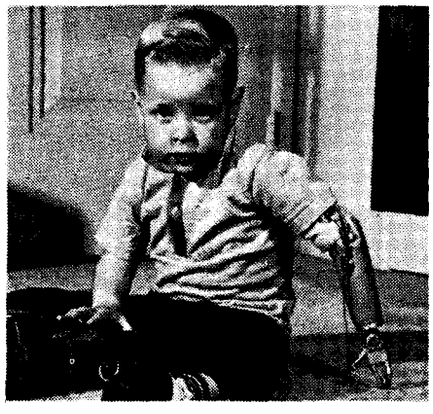
(Lawler's opposing one, for thinkers like himself, being "utopian") can usefully chart the chronic pessimists, the optimists, the model builders, the moralists, the weavers of historical analogies, the legalists, the diplomatically minded, etc. Unless, of course, they are merely cover for "good guys" and "bad guys."

I assume it is clear that this book bothers me. It particularly bothers me because I largely share Mr. Lawler's basic thesis: that the Catholic hierarchy must speak out on the "overkill" capacity of the U.S. deterrent; that Catholics must expend on the causes of disarmament and world government the same amount of energy and resources they have dedicated to constructing theories of just war and fighting Communism. But Mr. Lawler's espousal of this position seems marked by the very quality he (quite correctly) charges to Molnar: a "disdain for dialogue."

It would be nice if he met his opponents on their strong points, strengthening their case himself if need be, so that the real issues and not phoney ones could be discussed. Instead Mr. Lawler likes to search out his opponents' weaknesses, to expose their gaucheries. He puts himself to some trouble to decide whether or not Herman Kahn is an evil man, finally deciding, charitably enough, that he isn't—at least subjectively. He complains of critics who refuse to distinguish between the anti-war positions of Thomas Merton, Leslie Dewart and Gordon Zahn. Fair enough. Yet he does not hesitate to lump Kahn with Molnar or clinch a point against the Rand Corporation with a quote from the *National Review*. The tone resembles that of the legendary red-faced Englishman, currently being played by Evelyn Waugh, who scribbles long letters off to the London *Times*, keeping the standards up, scoring points, and denouncing upstarts. In short, the book is crabby.

Mr. Lawler has written gracefully elsewhere, without ambling down the alleyways of his private quarrels. In an excellent pamphlet recently published by The Council on Religion and International Affairs *Peace, the Churches and the Bomb*, Lawler makes his case for a Conciliar condemnation of "overkill" perfectly clear. He begins with the frank and refreshing admission that "any statement made by the Council . . . is going to have the effect of penalizing the Western nations," and continues as straightforwardly. As for *this* book, its sad plight is symbolized by the passage beginning on page 113: a two-page, 700-word, self-consciously clever analysis of the book *jacket* (*!*) of Barry Goldwater's *Why Not Victory?*

Why not skip it?



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Conversations with Andre Gide

CLAUDE MAURIAC

Braziller, $5

JAMES R. MELLOW

What a convocation of journal writing, journal reading, journal recitations! The participants are André Gide and the Mauriacs, père et fils. The place is Malagar, the Mauriac estate near Bordeaux. It is the summer of 1939. The elder Mauriac, sitting beneath a linden tree, reads aloud passages from the journals of Charles Du Bos, Gide's early friend and later antagonist, a Catholic convert. In the evening, Gide settles down to listen to Claude Mauriac reading segments from his journal or the journal of a friend who has become a priest. Gide presses on François Mauriac the little red copybook (read earlier by Claude) which contains the unpublished account of his life with Madeleine Gide. Gide professes uncertainty whether he should publish the painful secrets of his married life. In private, the Mauriacs agree that it is all a pretense: the old codger is itching to publish the book. In the meantime, the two Mauriacs polish off their daily meetings with Gide by reading his newly published *Journals*.

Later, in August, there is another recitation. This time, the place is Pontigny, an abbey turned into a retreat for intellectuals. Robert Levesque schedules a reading of scandalous passages from a journal kept during a trip with Gide through Greece. Gide claims he is too embarrassed to listen; Levesque and Claude are forced to plead with him. The scene, depicted in Mauriac's journal, from which *Conversations with André Gide* is extracted, is like a hall of mirrors. Gide, reflected in Levesque's journal, is again reflected in Mauriac's account, caught in a number of compromising poses. Having played the coy maiden, feigning departure, he sits through the entire reading with an avid and proprietary interest, correcting Levesque's journal where he feels it is lacking in accuracy or literary merit. In the end, he is enormously pleased: he had not, himself, kept any notes of those "marvelous days."

Claude Mauriac, prominent now as a New Wave novelist (*The Dinner Party* *The Marquise Went Out at Five*) was a young and aspring writer when he first introduced himself to Gide in a Parisian cafe in 1937. At twenty-three (Gide was then sixty-eight), Mauriac was an independent young man, skeptical o

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established religions, liberal in his political beliefs. The two made a strange pair. Out of Claude's hero-worship, a shared enthusiasm for political and literary causes, and Gide's not always innocent interest in young men, there developed a curious and brief friendship. One can see how fruitful the alliance was for the younger writer, brought up on the fiery austerities of his father's religious convictions. There is, implicit in this journal, a constant weighing of the two men; the one a witness for the Catholic faith, the other an apostle of uprootedness.

It is this sense of a dramatic confrontation between two men in the fullness of their lives which makes the entire episode at Malagar so memorable: Gide and François Mauriac, seated beneath the trees, like clerics of the literary faith holding a sacred conversation. Beyond this, it is a revelation of that peculiar breed, the French man-of-letters. The scholasticism of the profession! Between the two of them, the history of French literature is ransacked and the writers – Boileau, Bossuet, Racine, de Musset, Claudel, Péguy, Verlaine (not excluding Gide and François Mauriac, themselves)–brought forward to be read, discussed, appraised like prospective angels for the head of a pin.

What one takes away from the account, aside from the tenderness and perspicacity of its style, is a sense of the discernment which the younger Mauriac brings to a character as Proean as Gide's. Still, it is one more Gide to add to the collection; this one a Gide in the sadly human flesh, with a mind entrusted to contingencies. François Mauriac, seen through his son's eyes, comes off less well – predatory and righteous, too eager to see in Gide a betrayed and diabolical lamb. A finer justice prevails (one of the gifts, perhaps, of his style) in the pages which the elder Mauriac devotes to Gide in his own *Mémoires Intérieures.*

The bond which exists between Gide and Claude Mauriac is one of friendship, not justice. Unfortunately, it falls victim to the disruptions of war and the necessary ingratitude of young writers towards their former idols. Gide spends the war in North Africa, the Mauriacs in France; there are few letters between them. After the Liberation, Claude and Gide try to restore the intimacy, but the feeling has gone. Gide is more defensive and suspicious. The tone of Claude's journal is stricter, less affectionate. The later episodes are poignant for their hesitancies and fumbling attempts. Only at the deathbed of Paul Valéry, does the old spark, the tenderness of their earlier friendship, flare up in a final, momentary, glow. Claude's last glimpse of the writer is from a distance, at the Comédie Française. Two months later, Gide is dead.

Russia and History's Turning Point

ALEXANDER KERENSKY

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ARCADI NEBOLSINE

Nobody today is more qualified to tell of the Russian Revolution than Mr. Kerensky, the head of the democratic government that was overthrown by the Bolshevik uprising in November, 1917. Since then he has been constantly studying and explaining these crucial years that were a "turning-point" for him and for his country. What for other historians is a matter of research is for him a personal experience. There are things that only he can tell about with immediacy and vividness. Lenin, who had as personal a part to play in these events, is not alive to speak of them, but if he were there is no reason to suppose that his judgment would be as humane and broad-minded, as "professional," as Mr. Kerensky's.

The present survey, therefore, is a valuable historical document. Mr. Kerensky has collected and recollected a great quantity of facts. He has presented the material with a sense of perspective and fair play in a spirit of conscientious reportage–somewhat detached in tone. But in the interests of objectivity he has withheld his *personal* reactions, these significant and revelatory sensations that would convey to us the *life* of the crises he lived through. There is a mass of facts but no sifting, no arrangement. Perhaps he thinks that all the facts are significant, each is a "turning-point," and he is right, but a historian in order to communicate must select. As it is, the general reader will have to wait for something from Mr. Kerensky that will be more dramatic because more personal.

An example of the author's reticence

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Have you been hearing frequently about the new student movements in our colleges and universities and wondered what were the main lines of their leaders' point of view? Our issue of January 7 and Carl Oglesby's "Bankruptcy of the Liberals" with a response from Peter Steinfels would prove extremely illuminating.

You are aware of the tensions between the western industrial nations and the underdeveloped world. Father Tissa Balasuriya of Ceylon in his "World Apartheid" in our December 24 issue gives a convincing picture of the outlook of the world's have-nots.

Or consider the growing discussion of "The New Morality" and the wide concern about the attitudes of present-day university students. The debate in our January 14 issue between Dr. Joseph Fletcher and Father Herbert McCabe supplies a heightened understanding of what is basically at issue here.

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is the following passage: "Spellbound by the beauty of the scene, I experienced a sense of elation that grew almost to the point of spiritual transfiguration . . . for me that moment was decisive in choosing the spiritual path which I was to follow throughout my life." This religious experience takes place as he contemplates the Volga landscape. But one wants to understand better this transfiguration, although it may be difficult to talk about. One wants the moment to come to life. How did it change his life, his feeling for Russia his political ideals? Only he can tell us and if he doesn't, nobody ever will. For this insight we could well dispense with some of the speeches and notes reproduced in his book that are available in the newspapers of the time, etc.

Another instance, where the reader is kept at arm's length is this excerpt from a report of a meeting held by the Council of Ministers on August 27 1917: "*Mlyukov* confirmed that the point had been left out by mistake *Khvostov* reported that Kerensky had seen him and had threatened that . . he could cause a scandal in the Duma." Clearly it would be easier here for Kerensky to speak for himself. Only he or a specialist in the field, can decide if such reportage is essential to the whole.

It seems also that he is restrained by a feeling of reserve, a sort of noblesse oblige of the Russian intelligentsia. Thus his remark in a discussion of the Rasputin case— "The source of Rasputin' influence lay in the intimate relation between the Tsar and the Tsarina. For reasons I am not free to disclose, the Tsar felt that he had to give in (to his wife) with regard to the heir apparent. From a sense of duty, of delicacy he is unwilling to expose the *podnogotnoe* the facts "under foot." Such limitation of the book are self imposed and closely bound with Mr. Kerensky's strict code of honor. This code characterized him as a Prime Minister: his abhorrence of capital punishment, his respect for his opponents (whether the Tsar or the Soviets) his willingness to take "tough line," his leaning toward "mercy" rather than "justice." This code

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his opponents call it "weakness") may ıave contributed to the triumph of the ⁄ed government.

In an interesting passage Mr. Kerensky himself observes: "The disadvantage was that Russia did not develop a sense of law (*pravo*), but only a sense of fraternity and equality." This point has been made by the Slavophiles and contemporary philosophers such as G. P. Fedotov, who has written: "Russia embraced Christianity, first of all, as a religion of love, not a law corroborated by threats. . . . Here we touch the very core of the ethics so fatal to Russia's civic development. The Russian is either above the law or below it." . . . Thus the Russian, says another specialist, V. Weidle, substituted for the Law "an indulgent and loving understanding of weaknesses — his own and other people's."

As a young lawyer Kerensky (like Fedotov's Kievan Russians) believed in providing justice, "justice" meaning primarily the defense of the weak and the oppressed. (It is not surprising that he went in for legal aid.) This belief was shared in the years preceding the Revolution by the leading minds, the conciences of Kerensky's generation. They held no truck for "avenging" justice and almost believed with the mad King Lear: "none does offend, none, I say."

That in a fateful moment of his country's history Kerensky was "lenient" is certainly true. How much was this due to his weaknesses as a ruler and how much to his principles? What lesson does Mr. Kerensky's experience have for democracy as such? This is the great question on which he has always pondered and which we hope he will treat again in another more searching study. Meanwhile his book remains for what it is: a factual compendium which can instruct and enrich the general reader.

REVIEWERS

PETER STEINFELS *is an assistant editor* COMMONWEAL.

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CORRECTION

We regret that, due to an editorial error, the title of Clarence Senior's book was omitted from the review-article by Richard M. Elman, "The Puerto Ricans," in the issue of COMMONWEAL for January 7, 1965. The title is *Strangers — Then Neighbors.* Quadrangle Books, $1.45.

CORRESPONDENCE

(*Continued from page 455*)

Bellow as a minor novelist: indeed, I am hardly qualified since I have tried only two of his books — *Herzog* which I could not finish, and *Dangling Man* (his first novel) which I am currently struggling with, and which has helped me appreciate Nelson Algren's remark of a few years ago when, in the midst of much pre-publication ballyhoo for *Herzog,* he said simply, "I know *Herzog.* I mean I've *read* Saul. *Herzog* is as much a repetition of Bellow as Lonigan is a repetition of Farrell. Saul just keeps doing *Herzog. . .*" Mr. Kostelanetz may consider Bellow the reigning American novelist; I happen to think Mailer is. Nevertheless — to return to the argument at hand — I would remind Mr. Kostelanetz that his application of the categories "development" and "achievement" is ambiguous and imprecise when comparing West and Bellow. And I would further remind him that one of the critical gods in his personal pantheon, Edmund Wilson, once described Nathanael West as "an original comic poet," and called *Miss Lonelyhearts* "a miniature comic epic." Perhaps Saul Bellow has been similarly acclaimed by the likes of Edmund Wilson. I very much doubt it. Mr. Kostelanetz' remarks then were prompted either by some dishonest critical bias or mere wishful thinking, in which case he has been caught dropping slugs down the literary wishing well and deserves to be reprimanded.

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